

NAPHTALI;

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19759

True and Short DEDUCTION OF THE WRESTLINGS OF THE CHURCH of SCOTLAND FOR THE

KINGDOM of CHRIST;

From the Beginning of the Reformation of Religion, unto the Year 1667.

Together with
The last SPEECHES and TESTIMONIES
of some who have died for the Truth since the
Year 1660.

Whereunto also are subjoined,
A Relation of the Sufferings and Death of Mr. HUGH
M'KAIL, and some Instances of the Sufferings of
Galloway and Nithisdale.

Lam. i. 12. *Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me, in the day of his fierce anger.*

Mic. vii. 8. *Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: When I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me.*

Isai. xiv. 32. *What shall one then answer the messengers of the nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it.*

EDINBURGH:

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AD LECTOREM.

Non hic Herculeæ sunt cum sudore palestræ;
 Nullus Olympiaco in pulvere Ludus iners:
 Pro sudore cruor Christi de corpore manat,
 Ardua pro ludo est lucta, rapina, neces.
 Scotica bis denis luctata Ecclesia Lustris;
 Pene dedit victas, lassæ labore, manus.
 Duros passa Patres dudum, velut ante Novercas,
 Vi premitur; Stygia fraude subacta gemit.
 Constitit effrænes contra tumidasque procellas;
 Proque fide steterat, dum stetit ulla fides.
 Nusquam cana fides nunc est; jurataque Cæli
 Numina, mortales, vinc'la nec ulla ligant.
 Credula dum nimis est, fida hæc Ecclesia; vana
 Spe lusa, et rupto fœdere strata jacet:
 Strata tamen non tota jacet; de pulvere surgit;
 Auricomum tollet mox supra astra caput.
 Ipsa triumphalem curram Crux sæva ministrat;
 Sanctorum sanguis fertile semen erit.
 Ecce! Sacerdotum turmam Regumque Coronas
 Pendentem infami de trabe, Lector, habes.
 Cerne oculo, Heroum facies et corpora cernas;
 Verba audi, et videas pectora plena Deo,
 Hic loquitur Princeps, magno cum Judice, Vates;
 Et Juvenes, Vatum spes animosa senum.
 Hic Generosa cohors, Miles, Mercator, agelli
 Cultor, et Arte rudis, spirat ab ore Deum.
 Disce immortalem hinc Animam, vitamque futuram;
 Nulla est, pro Christo, mors male grata pio.
 Pro Christi Crux, est, diademate Laurea; restis,
 Fœdere pro Sancto, est vitta, monile, decus.



READER,

THE LORD in great mercy, having wonderfully and with an outstretched arm, notwithstanding all the opposition of Satan and earthly principalities, redeemed *Scotland* from the power and darkness, first of *Gentilism*, and then of *Antichristianism*, by raising of some burning and shining lights, and other instruments fitted for that work; whereby the light of the glorious gospel, from a very small beginning, did increase more and more, until at length, shining with brightness and heat as the sun in his strength, it filled the land with knowledge, insomuch that the name thereof became *Jehovah Shammah*, *The Lord is there*: And having built to himself a house upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, not only sufficiently instructed with righteous laws and judgments for doctrine and worship; but also provided with all ordinary officers necessary in the Christian church, and with a form of church-government, of his own institution, distinct from, and without any prejudice unto the civil government of the kingdom, whereby the church of *Scotland*, for soundness of faith, purity of worship, excellency of government, freedom and power of the gospel, beautiful order and unity, was not inferior to any, if not preferable to most of the reformed churches; and therefore was deservedly famous and esteemed amongst them: Having also, for an hundred years, from its first national establishment,

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preserved the same from an utter overthrow, notwithstanding the many various and renewed endeavours of men, by force and fraud, to reduce it unto the same errors, ignorance and superstitions, wherein itself, at first lay buried, and under which others groaned; and several times revived and restored it, when, by its own impurity, indifferency and formality it began to decline, or by the treachery, subtilty, or violence of others it was oppressed; thereby not only disappointing, confounding, and many times ruining the adversaries, and comforting and strengthening the faithful; but also, always rebuilding to himself a temple, the glory whereof did far excel and darken the glory of the former: And having many times engaged the whole land to himself, by several most solemn obligations, of voluntary surrender and resignation, by frequently renewed oaths and covenants; so that within these few years past, there were not many persons of age, of whatever degree, and not so much as one preaching minister in all the land, who not only did not make public profession of the true reformed religion, but also subject themselves unto the presbyterial form of church-government and discipline, and who did not (which we desire to be noted) for that effect, in their own persons, swear and subscribe with the hand unto the Lord, in the national covenant and solemn league and covenant; insomuch, that as to the public profession of the truth; and almost as to the number of persons, the church of *Scotland* was of equal extent with the nation, and in that respect, of all other national churches, did most resemble the old church of the *Jews*: The Lord, I say, having to the conviction and acknowledgment of ourselves and others, done such great things for us, whereof we are glad, the present apostacy, whereby *Scotland's Bethel*

is become *Bethaven*, and the land that was sometimes holiness unto the Lord, is become (alas too *Edom* like) the border of wickedness, and an *Aceldama*, a tragical theatre of blood and persecution, ought to be unto us no less matter of sorrow, shame and fear, than it is sin in itself, and wonder and amazement unto others. Who can hear our covenanted and kindest Lord, who hateth putting away, and desieth us to *shew the bill of our mother's divorcement*, who groaneth under our backslidings, being pressed therewith as a cart full of *shaves*, complaining that he is broken with our *whorish heart*, and therefore declaring, that he will be no more our husband, nor we his wife, and that his heart cannot be towards us; but that he will drive us out of his house, and love us no more, and not cover the lip for shame; and in consequence thereof, who can behold the Father's house, not only defiled, by turning it into a house of merchandise and den of thieves, but the temple cast down to the ground, and the adversary in the midst thereof insultingly and scornfully set up their ensigns for signs of triumph; and further, behold the blood of the saints shed like water, and their flesh given to be meat to the fowls of the heaven and beasts of the earth, and not lament with *Jeremiah? chap. ix. 1. 2. 3.* *Oh! that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people. Oh! that I had in the wilderness a lodging place of wayfaring men, that I might leave my people, and go from them: for they be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men. And they bend their tongue like their bow for lies: but they are not valiant for the truth upon the earth, for they proceed from evil to evil, and they know not me, saith the Lord.* And this will the more appear, not only if we remember the general nature

nature of backsliding, which is a very comprehensive sin, importing less love, fear, and trust in the true God, and proclaiming more inconstancy, unfaithfulness, and ingratitude towards him, than sometimes is found in very Heathens towards their idols; but also, if we consider, that our present defection hath all circumstantial aggravations in the highest degree. For it is not in things only civil, indifferent, or of little moment; but in things religious, necessary, important, and which, at least, in their tendency and consequence reach to the very foundation: it is not the effect of common, human and unvinceable infirmity; but most free and voluntary, yea wilful and deliberate; It is not done by stealth, or in a corner; but avowedly and openly in the sight of the sun: it is not private and personal; but representative and authorized, by acts and proclamations of king, parliament and council: it is not smoothly and subtilly, but most tyrannically carried on by military violence and cruelty: it is not of a few or inconsiderable persons, but very universal: the greatest part of all ranks, and of some ranks, almost the whole, being some one way or other involved therein: it is not only of these, who were always of known and professed disaffection to the cause and covenant of God; but also of many, who sometimes, being exceeding zealous themselves, and exemplary and forcible upstirers of others therein, are now become the chief ringleaders thereof, and most bloody persecutors of those, who remain stedfast in the truth: It is not in an heathenish or antichristian land, or church divided and broken with several sects, as some others are; but even in *Scotland*, so clearly enlightened, for which the Lord had wrought so many wonderful works, which was under so many obligations of oaths and covenants to the contrary, and
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had been so united in the profession of the truth: it is not from violent force, inevitable necessity, or irresistible temptation (which is neither possible, nor yet would excuse it) but when the Lord, by breaking the yoke of foreign usurpation, had given King and country the fairest opportunity which they ever had, to restore, confirm and advance his work; as if he had delivered us, that we might work all these abominations: And all this for no other end, than the base flattering of the king's humor and inclination, the satiating of prelatical pride and ambition, the indulging of the licentious profanity of some debauched and degenerated nobles and others, who could not endure the yoke of Christ's sound doctrine and impartial discipline. And the suppression of religion and righteousness, in the subversion of the late work of reformation; whereby we have charged ourselves with all the blood that hath been shed upon either side, during the former wars; have laid a stumbling-block before all, who shall see or hear of it, to blaspheme religion as a fiction, to condemn the late work of reformation as a false pretence for rebellion and self-interest, and to affirm, that there is neither truth nor ingenuity in the professors thereof. *Pass over the isles of Shittim and see, and send unto Kedar, and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing; hath a nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? But Scotland, ah Scotland! hath changed her glory for that which doth not profit. Be astonished, O ye heavens at this, and be horribly afraid: and so much the rather, because few lands did ever make defection after this manner, but, as upon the one hand, the Lord gave them up unto more backsliding, until they abounded more with Atheism, and all manner of abominations, than some Pagan nations, who never*

heard nor made profession of the gospel; so upon the other hand, he always pursued them with sorest plagues, not only of subjugation at home, scattering and exile abroad, dividing of kingdoms amongst themselves, and from their former rulers, and final subversion of whole empires, kingdoms and commonwealths; but also many times with the final removal of the gospel, and utter dissolution of all visible national covenant-relation, as might be demonstrated from holy scripture, and other histories: and indeed, if he, to whom nothing is strange or impossible (though they may seem both to us) and whose ways and thoughts are as far above ours, as the heavens are above the earth, do not in the sovereignty of his grace, recede from his ordinary method of dealing with such apostatizing people, and now when he hath seen our ways, do not heal us, we have alas! too too just ground of fear, that we shall become such a proverb amongst the nations, that the generation to come of our children, and the stranger that cometh from a far land, when they see the plagues of this land, shall wonder and ask, *Wherefore hath the Lord done this unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger?* Oh! that the very *first*, and next following steps of defection, together with the causes of the Lord's wrath against the land, were remembered and acknowledged, and that all who have had any accession to the kindling of this flame (and who can wholly justify himself? if any would, be sure, his own mouth should condemn him) would draw water and pour it out before the Lord, for quenching thereof, and that the *first* receders from our national acknowledgment of sins and engagement to duties, would glorify God by confession, that he might turn from the fierceness of his anger; but alas! he hath at once pour'd out upon us the spirit of *whoredom* and of a
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deep sleep! and hath both made us to *err* from his way, and *hardned* our hearts from his fear. And as we should look behind us to the rise, so before us to the result of these things; for tho' every runner may read the *primum mobile* of this course, the great axle-tree and wheels upon which all moveth, and who are the furious drivers and slavish drawers thereof; and we have both seen the several degrees of motion and advancement, and smarted under the sad effects of the same; yet I am afraid, that there is now another spirit in persons and tendency in affairs, than some men apprehend. Whether there be a sufficient ground in the holy scriptures to think with some, that before the last fall of the Roman Antichrist, the popish religion shall once more overshadow the christian world, is not proper to enquire; but considering the great affinity betwixt *Papacy* and *Prelacy*, and the already authorized and practised conformity of the one to the other, not only in government and discipline, whereby they have, for the most part, the same ecclesiastical courts and officers; but also in worship, whereby they have the same liturgy, for substance of Epistles, Gospels, Collects and Litany; the same ceremonies of rising, standing to the East, bowing, kneeling, crossing, &c. the same superstitious and fool-like vestments; the same observation of many days, the same adorning of churches and chapels, with altars, books, candles, candlesticks, basins, images, and crucifixes on windows, and the same Jesuitical sign upon their pulpit-cloath; and also in several points of doctrine, preached, licensed and printed, with many other things tedious to be enumerated; considering also, the constitution of the kingdoms, which by ignorance, Atheism, disputing and oppugning of the authority of the holy Scriptures, error, superstition, profaneness, indifferency, formality and hypocrisy in many, are much more than formally dispos-

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ed to imbrace whatsoever shall be authorized or indulged: and considering the native tendency of the present course of backsliding, which leadeth unto the great whore, the mother of all these abominations, nothing but gross, wilful or judicial ignorance, and estrangement from affairs, can deny, that there is too just ground of fear, that ere long (if the Lord do not prevent it) *Britain* may be again precipitated into the old gulph of Antichristianism. And so much the rather, because it is universally observed and notourly known, that the number of professed Papists, hath increased more within these six years, than it had for near sixty before; the conviction whereof made some of the Prelates themselves say some years hence, that since the year 1660. there were more thousands of avowed Papists in *Scotland*, compute then what may and must be in *England* and *Ireland*, than before that year there were hundreds, whence this is, and whether there be any positive resolution to re-introduce Popery in these lands, I do not affirm, but remit it to the consideration of the impartial reader, who understandeth the times, and to time itself, a great searcher and discoverer of secrets, to declare the genuine meaning and tendency of these things, That the king should publish in print, that the Papists had been faithful subjects to him and his father, whilst others, under pretence of religion, had involved the kingdoms in blood; Was that bloody massacre in *Ireland*, whereof they were the known and acknowledged actors, tho' perhaps not the only authors, such faithful service? that the execution of penal statutes against Papists should be superseded, whilst severe penal statutes daily enacted and executed against Protestants, really, though not under that name and notion: that so many known and open idolatrous masses should be connived

connived at and tolerated, whilst both publick and private meetings of Protestants for pure worship are prohibited by law, and violently interrupted: that so many known professed Papists, priests and Jesuites, who do not publicly countenance the prelatical worship, are permitted to live peaceably and enjoy all their liberties, whilst non-complying Protestants, for simple non-conformity to Prelacy, are imprisoned, fined, confined, scourged, stigmatized, and many otherways oppressed and persecuted, in their estates, consciences and names: that so many Papists, especially in *England*, should enjoy and be daily advanced to the greatest places of publick power and trust, not only as members of parliament, council and court, but as state-officers, lieutenants, sheriffs, justices of counties, and officers in army, whilst stedfast Protestants, for simple non-perjuring, are some of them not so much as permitted to sit in parliament, or any other judicatory; others of them discouraged, disgraced, disarmed, imprisoned and proscribed, and all of them who will not forswear, declared incapable of publick power or trust in church or commonwealth: that a house for fathers or friers is provided; whilst many faithful ministers are removed and chased from place to place, without any certain habitation: that there should be such universal report and so much presumption of a Popish hand in burning of *London*; which, for number and strength of Protestant inhabitants, was the most considerable city in the world, and bulwark against the Romish religion and designs; and yet, as if men were afraid to try the truth in that matter, so little satisfying and effectual course taken, to try and punish the authors and actors, and to repress their many other insolent misdemeanours; whilst many thousands of innocent Protestants, who never burnt either house or city, for no other al-

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leged crime, but their peaceable forbearance to bow to the idol, which the king hath set up, are thrown into a furnace of fiery trial, seven times more heated, than ever was known in the Christian world for such a cause, all things being considered.

It may seem strange to the nations about, and to the generations following, that the church of *Scotland*, which had been so faithful and chaste, should have suffered herself to be thus prostituted, and that (if she would not otherways, after the manner of her fathers, contend for the faith which she had received) she did not cry to all the world by declarations and protestations (as the maid under the law) that she was forced; and that of all the sons which she had brought forth, there were so few, either to take her by the hand, and plead openly for her, or to plead with her, that she would put away her whoredoms. This indeed is, and ought to be for a lamentation; but let none therefore conclude, (as some of the profane and perfidious Prelates, measuring others after their own baseness and treachery, had the impudence at first to misrepresent to the rulers, that all were or are *consentient* unto this horrid Apostacy; for even at the beginning thereof, if synods (who were then resolving to bear publick witness for the then established government of the church, and against the begun defection, and further progress thereof by the re-introduction of Prelacy, which was then designed) had not been, some of them, by proclamation prohibited to convene, and others of them violently interrupted and raised by nobles, who, by order of parliament, were present for that effect; and if some of her watchmen (who were neither professedly driving on, nor secretly breathing after Prelacy and prelatical promotion) had not, for reasons best known to themselves, too much courted and flattered

flattered the powers by their own silence, and withdrawing of their necessary and required concurrence in a publick joint testimony, there wanted not faithfulness, zeal, courage, resolutions and some endeavours in others, to have emitted such declarations, as probably might have crushed the bold attempt of the Prelates in its infancy, and thereby have prevented much sin and suffering, which hath ensued thereupon; and certainly would have witnessed to all the world, that the church without and against her consent was treacherously betrayed and violently forced. Neither hath the truth, all along from that time to this, wanted many testimonies; though none of them were so national, universal, authoritative and solemn as they should have been; and few of them, perhaps; so explicate, full, plain and bold, as the weight of the matter and other circumstances required: yea, the continued fears of the adversaries, expressed in the narratives of several of their own acts and proclamations, and their levying of military force, for upholding of them and their cause; the non-compliance of many thousands, their secret and open complaints and moans because of it, and their daily prayers to God against it, bear witness against this present course. Besides, it is very observable, that some, who had been chief authors and active promoters thereof, and compliers with the same, and others, who had been intimate familiars and favourers of Prelates and their vice-curates, in sickness and at death, did so much abhor their way, and loath their persons, that they would not admit their presence, but called for non-conforming ministers to speak to them and pray for them; yea some gentlemen upon death-bed, did with much sorrow bemoan their own concurrence, and particularly their taking of the declaration against the Covenant,

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and seriously warned and exhorted their old familiars and companions in that guilt, to repent thereof, wishing they were able to go and make publick profession of their own repentance: and others (whilst some friends offered to bring prelatical men unto them) professed, that though they had sported with such men in health, yet they durst not do so at death; and some ministers who had conformed, in remorse thereof, forsook that way, and thereafter died with convincing evidence of repentance thereof, and declaration against the same: and indeed, as there was never any course in the land, which so visibly had the voluntary and active course of all and only the wicked and profane; so there was never a more universal concurrence and wrestling together by prayer, of all the godly, without exception, against any party and cause, than now is against this; for there needs no more to make any man (though formerly their friend and familiar) to hate their way and detest themselves, but to convince him of his own sin, make him thoroughly apprehensive of death and judgment, and become a sincere seeker of God, and student of holiness in his own person. And further, the late rising in arms, is an argument above contradiction, that Prelacy is an out-landish and unnatural weed in *Scotland*; it is true, that it had its immediate rise from cruel oppression; but it is as true, that all the oppression was authorized by the rulers, exercised by the soldiers, and endured by the people, meerly *because* and upon account of their faithfulness and stedfastness in the covenant and cause of God, in a non-compliance with Prelacy, otherwise they might have lived as quietly as others, and so soon as they were in a probable capacity, by renewing of the covenant, they declared actively for that same cause, for which they had suffered

ferred so much: it is true also, that the action is condemned by some as rebellious, and the endeavour as indeliberate, and presumptuous; but referring the reader to the following discourse for full satisfaction thereanent, I shall only here hint, that being altogether accidentally occasioned, by an unforeseen emergent difference, betwixt three or four soldiers and as many country-men, arising from horrid oppression, through unjust laws and military execution thereof, without premeditated counsel or contrivance, it cannot be imagined that all the formalities, which may be judged necessary in a matter of that nature and importance, could have been in it: and yet it is presumed, that it wanted nothing but success, to have made many of the same persons account the action just and necessary, and the enterprise, laudable and valorous. And as for the persons themselves, it may be truly, and without all vanity affirmed, that these many years past, there hath not been in *Britain* such another company of men joined for the cause and covenant of God: for though where armies were more numerous, there might be, or was the like or greater number of persons truly godly; yet where the whole number was so small, it will be very hard to parallel so many together, of sound judgment, true piety, integrity of heart, fervent zeal, and undaunted resolution and courage, and with so small a mixture of persons of corrupt minds, profane conversations and sinisterous ends: and although we would not be prodigal of mens lives, especially of saints at this time, when there is so great need and scarcity of intercessors, to stand between the dead and the living; yet that simple act of *renewing* of the *Covenant*, is more glory to God, and a greater testimony and advantage to that covenant and cause, than (we hope) the loss of so many men as are fallen, shall import

import of damage thereunto. But above all, take notice of the many sufferings and *sufferers* here after-mentioned, whose blood under the altar, and some of whose *heads* and *hands* standing betwix heaven and earth, doth not only cry for vengeance but night and day bear open witness against this adulterous generation. These mens testimony should have the more weight and credit with all, because of the persons, the matter, and manner thereof, which was not by wishing, word-speaking, or doing without danger, which is the height of too many men's atchievement in these days, but by B L O O D, whereunto they resisted striving against sin, and thereby, being neither afraid, to act, nor ashamed to suffer for their Lord and Master, have left behind them a fair example of both to all, and a reproof to many, whose greater prudence than zeal, hath taught them to save themselves, by couching betwixt the burdens. That a great prince, and yet not so great as good, an eminent and more than ordinary useful, and never to be forgotten instrument of the work of reformation and patron of the Church, and a true and seeing prophet, did fall in *Scotland*, when *Argyll*, *Wariston*, and Mr. *Guthrie*, for no other cause but their *good deeds*, and particularly for loving of our nation, and building of our synagogue, were led like innocent sheep to the slaughter, nothing but ignorance, malice, wickedness, or partiality can deny: for they wanted nothing to make them beloved, as they were esteemed and feared by their enemies, but that they neither did nor would, because for love and awe of God they durst not with others make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience. Of these three mighty men, and others, who by suffering since, have obtained the crown (though some of them being but country - yeomen, had mean education, and little other learning, than
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what they learned in the gospel of him, who is meek and lowly, and whom the zeal of his Father's house did eat up, it is below their due commendation, when it is affirmed, That never any men of the greatest spirits, piety and learning, did suffer and die with more meekness and patience towards their enemies, with more humility and confidence towards God, with more faithfulness and stedfastness in the truth, without the least injurious reflection thereupon, or their own adherence thereunto, with more equanimity and composure of spirit, sweetly tempered with the sorrows of sin and joys of the Holy Ghost, in assurance of pardon and life everlasting, and with less perturbation of mind, and alteration of carriage or countenance, than these *worthies* did. Here indeed was the faith and patience of the saints, here did the Lord stand by, and strengthen them whom others forsook: yea, the Lord, to the admiration of all, the conviction of many of their adversaries, the confirmation and establishment of the cause, the encouragement of many thousands, his own eternal glory, and their immortal commendation, did work in the hearts of all beholders, more ample and enduring epistles of commendation, than the most eloquent and pathetic rhetorician can write in their favours. This account further I will give you of the first ten, who died together *December 7.* that they once resolved to speak severally to the people at their death; but thereafter considering, that for one common cause, and upon the same allegations, they were all appointed to die one manner of death, together at one time, and in one place; and having the conveniency of being together in the prison, they preferred to leave a word jointly behind them in writ, which, as it was the cause of one conjunct testimony, and some others severally; so the fore-

seeing providence of God in this, is very observable: for had it been otherwise (seeing they were not at all permitted to speak to the people upon the scaffold) there had nothing of their joint testimony been extant, more than is of these who were not suffered to speak at their death in *Glasgow*, and of the rest who suffered in other places of the West, of whom we have heard nothing more particularly, but that the same spirit of glory and of God resting upon them, did work in them all, the same stedfastness, patience, humility, consolation, courage and confidence.

These being the last times, wherein sin aboundeth, and the love of many is waxed cold, I cannot divine, what pity should be shewed to them that are in misery; especially considering the universal decay of religion, and dark cloud of prejudice and discountenance, whereby the kingdom of Christ is overshadowed, generally the whole world over, and even amongst the reformed churches: nevertheless, there being a communion of saints, which should be entertained amongst both persons and churches, whereby these of the same true religion (amongst other things) reciprocally give and receive information of their common affairs, that, if they can or will express no other act of love, they may, at least the more suitably sympathize, and mutually pray one for another; And the Lord in his providence, giving the opportunity, I thought it convenient, yea necessary, to communicate the following *Deduction of the Wrestlings of the Church of SCOTLAND for the Kingdom of CHRIST*, hoping that as it beareth the name, so, the Wrestling Church of Scotland, in due time shall reap the blessing of N A P H T A L I, who *Gen. xlix. 21.* is called a *hind let loose*, and said to *give goodly words* for who can tell, but her *wrestlings* may be swallowed
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lowed up of *victory* and *liberty*, and her antient covenanted doctrine, worship and government, may become as *pleasant* and *acceptable*, as it is *profitable*, not only within herself, but also among the churches abroad. This *title* being only affirmative of her, and not negative of other churches, as if only she, and not also they, had wrestled for the kingdom of Christ, let no man offend thereat: for as the Lord Redeemer hath several offices, equally necessary in themselves, and inseparable by man, and as particular churches, as well as persons, have their peculiar gifts and excellencies, and accordingly their distinct work assigned unto them, whereby, amongst other things they, more or less eminently, assert and propugn this or that particular truth; so in this distribution, whereas other churches, have asserted and contended for his *priestly* and *prophetic* offices the lot seemeth to have fallen upon *Scotland*, to assert and wrestle more eminently than many others; for the *crown* and *kingdom* of Jesus Christ. For the establishment of this, did our first famous reformers strive, by the evidence of holy scripture, as well as for soundness of doctrine and purity of worship; for preservation and restoration of this, did their worthy successors zealously contend by petitions, warnings, conferences and disputations; all invasion, usurpation, or the least encroachment upon this, did they valiantly resist by protestations and declinatures; and, for a testimony to this, did they patiently suffer bonds, imprisonment, confinements, sentences of death, and (of late) death itself. Neither should any man think this strange, as if presbyterial government were in itself unlawful, or the *species* of church government, were indifferent, and consequently contending and suffering therefore, unwarrantable or needless, as pretenders to different forms (upon the right and

left hand) would have the world believe. Hitherto indeed the church of *Scotland* hath been as a speckled bird, and the birds round about have been against her; she hath endured the scourge of many tongues, as well as the violence of many hands, upon both hands false witnesses have laid to her charge, things which she knew not, as being (amongst other things) too lax or too rigid; yea, as unnatural children, have eaten through their mothers bowels, so unkindly brethren have rewarded her evil for good, *standing on the other side, and looking upon her and her affliction in the day of her calamity, rejoicing over her in the day of her destruction, and speaking proudly in the day of her distress; yea laying hands on her substance in the day of her calamity.* The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God, neither doth his invincible truth need the help of human passions; if therefore such men do not fear, I shall not desire, that *their own tongues may fall upon themselves, and that the Lord may render unto them according to their deeds, and according to the wickedness of their endeavours,* but rather study the revenge of good-will by prayer, that he would open their eyes and convert their hearts, that they may take revenge on themselves. Charity, which thinketh no evil, obligeth to believe, till we see the contrary, that scripture, conscience, covenant and credit will make those, who did once laudably assert, constantly propugn and adhere to the *jus divinum* of presbyterial government, untill they publish (which none can do) as convincing reasons of retraction and contrary practice: and whatever might be expected of others, religion, reason, candor, gratitude, and policy, would seem to require, that those who in their distress intreated and obtained the successful assistance of the covenanted interest of *Scotland*, and others, who

owe thereunto whatever they are, or have, more than just nothing, debt, or broken fortunes, should have been so far from contemptuous throwing away the *covenant* as an old almanack, when, by it as a stirrup, they had mounted the saddle of power, promotion and riches, and from subtile dissolving the nerves, or forceable breaking the arm of *presbytery*, that they should rather have said to both, as *Ruth* to *Naomi*, *Where thou goest, I will go; where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God: where thou diest, I will die, and there will I be buried: God do so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me.* And it may be truly said, as the church of *Scotland* hath had no detractors, but such as were ignorant of her, or misinformed about her, or whom faction, partiality, prejudice, wickedness, or love of unlawful liberty did inspire; so no person or party hath endeavoured hitherto to root out *presbytery*, but the Lord hath made it a burdensome stone unto them: and, I am sure, that there is no other form of church-government can boast of so many testimonies by *blood*, as presbyterial government might do. But of all contradistors, the church of *Scotland*, of old and late, hath only had to do (within herself) with *Prelatists*, some whereof, being high flown, have pleaded a *jus divinum*, others (antiquaries) have pleaded *antiquity*, and many other adiaphorists, of late, being beaten from both these strengths, have pleaded *indifferency* in general, and only *jus Carolinum*, as to this or that *species*: But as no eyes, save their own, neither these, except by delusion of their sense, could ever see *Prelacy* (that is, an ordinary ecclesiastical order, distinct from and superior to that of a preaching presbyter, having the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction) in the holy scripture, otherwise than

by prohibition to *lord* it over God's heritage, or, in the example of *Diotrephes* who loved *pre-eminence* as many famous writings, whereunto I refer the reader, unanswerably demonstrate; and therefore, the office being a stranger in the word of God, rather than the brazen serpent, which once had divine institution, should be *Nebushtan* in the church; so let no man, exorcist-wise, adjure us by the charming words of *antiquity*, *primitive times*, and *Bishops*, *Fathers*, &c. for *Moses* we know, the Prophets and Apostles we know, but what is antiquity, and who are the primitive Bishops and Fathers? Must men be stigmatized, as giddy-headed novellists, and as much *Athenian* in their principles and professions, as other men in their news, or then be implicit in-tail-following antiquaries? No, there is a *medium* of proving all things; and holding that which is good: *pure* antiquity deserveth all esteem and reverence, but *simple* antiquity, *as such*, is neither a certain nor safe rule, and much less obliging to future times, and so remote as ours are. Our Lord himself repelleth that pretence, that *it was said of old*: Were there not many errors and corruptions, which themselves will not justify, as ancient and early in the church, yea, more than Prelacy is alleged to be? We are commanded *to the law and testimony*, but never to the Fathers, and good reason, because few or none of them were without gross errors, in judgment or practice: Are not the writings of the first age very few, or obscure? Are not many of these and after-ages lost or corrupted? yea, other latter writings are deceitfully emitted under the name of antient times and persons, so that in such a mist, it is hard to determine what was written by these Fathers, what not: latter, corrupt or inadvertant writers about these former times, did speak of persons and things, under the abused names which

which were corruptly used in their own times : and the writings of particular persons, suppose of of greatest antiquity, do rather hold forth their own private opinion, or the practice of the time and place wherein they lived, than the universal judgment and practice of the church in all times and places. And if they will sanctuary themselves in primitive times, let it be cleared what is meant by *primitive* ; for, if the two first ages be meant, it is more than they can do, to prove by sufficient authority, that there was then such a Prelacy, as before-mentioned, or now usurped and exercised ; if after-ages be meant, wherein the church grew more corrupt, and Prelacy did aspire and exalt itself, to an universal supremacy in the Bishop of *Rome*, and establishment of that antichristian hierarchy, then indeed they are like themselves, for twins were never more like in face, than the present Prelates resemble the Romish ; but then, it were candor in them, to tell plainly, that Papacy and Prelacy are of one original, with this difference, that Prelacy is the first-born, or rather the father which begat the other ; and if they mean a middle time, betwixt these periods, wherein indeed Bishops were first known in the church, and will reckon their descent from them, why are they so unlike unto them, that they look neither like sons nor successors ? Ask those who have dived into these depths of antiquity, and they will tell, that a present Prelate, and a faithful Presbyterian pastor, or moderator at most, do little more differ, than the present Prelates, and these first primitive Bishops ; for, as it was long before such a thing was known in the church, so when, through the malice and subtilty of Satan, the ambition of some church-men, the unwatchfulness of others, and indulgence of some magistrates, it did creep in, at first it was intended

and acknowledged for no more then a prudential human device for greater unity (a cure, because without warrant, worfe than the disease, which, as the Apostles never prescribed in their own times, though there were then many divisions, so there is a like reason to extend further to papal supremacy, in the case of divisions amongst Prelates and Patriarchs) and had never the impudence to aspire, with some present Prelates, so high as a *jus divinum*; at first these primitive Bishops, being elected by other presbyters, with consent of the people, and not by the civil magistrate only, as now the Prelates are by the King's letter to the dean and chapter, were ordained by the laying on of the hands of presbyters, and not of Bishops only, as the Prelates are; their ordination was not essentially different from that of presbyters, nor to an order distinct from, and superior to that of presbyters or Pastors, as the consecration of the Prelates is alleged to be; neither did they, though perhaps they had a negative voice,) usurp the whole power of ordination and jurisdiction, nor exerce the acts thereof, without the potestative concurrence of other presbyters, as now the Prelates do; many of them being holy, humble, and sober in their conversation toward the people and other presbyters, did not, with the present Prelates, assume the lofty titles of *lordship, grace, &c.* nor live and ride in such state and pomp, claiming and taking the preference of the greatest peers in the land; ordinarily, and especially at the beginning, they had not such vast charges, as now the Prelates have diocesses over hundreds of pastors, and many thousands of people, to whom it is utterly impossible to perform ministerial duties; being diligent preachers themselves, they were not, as the Prelates are, idle drons, nor non-residents, nor yet of a strange language to the people, as *Wallace*, thro'

his

his ignorance of the Irish tongue, and almost of all others, except his mothers, must be a barbarian to his diocess of the Western-Isles; neither did they involve themselves in secular affairs and offices, than which, what is there more absurd in reason, and repugnant to scriptural precept and example? For Christ himself telleth us, that his kingdom is not of this world, *John* xviii. 38. and how can his officers be of it? He refused to be a judge, *Luke* xii. 14. And, speaking to the disciples of civil authority and dominion, saith, *It shall not be so amongst you, Mat.* xx. 25. *Luke* xxii. 25. And the Apostle *Paul* telleth us, that ministerial weapons are not carnal, *2 Cor.* x. 4. And that the ministers of the gospel should not entangle themselves with the affairs of this life, *2 Tim.* ii. 4. That the ministerial calling is so weighty, that the best qualified and most diligent is not sufficient for it, *2 Cor.* ii. 16. How then are they sufficient for it, and civil affairs too? And therefore they should wait upon it, *Rom.* xii. 7. and give themselves wholly to it, *1 Tim.* iv. 15. and not wait, as the Prelates do, upon courts, parliaments, council, convention of estates, &c. as members thereof, nor exerce the office of provosts, justices of peace, &c. Nor will it excuse them, that they commit the ministerial inspection of the flock to deputies: For if they be shepherds, should not the shepherds feed the flock? *Ezek.* xxxiv. 2. If to them be committed the ministry, teaching, exhorting, should they not themselves wait upon these? *Rom.* xii. 7. If they must give account of souls, should they not watch for them, *Heb.* xiii. 17. And if the Lord will require the flock at their hand, *Ezek.* xxxiv. 10. how will they answer to God, the people, their own conscience (if they have any) or to others who ask a reason of them, for feeding of themselves only, and committing the flock to others,

thers, and especially to such who are so far from being learned, holy, apt to teach, blameless, of good report, chaste, sober, grave, lovers of good men, meek and gentle, as the scripture requireth that many are novices, ignorant, prophane, light given to wine, false, covetous, contentious, proud passionate, and self-willed, and so far from taking heed to the flock, or being an example to them, in word, conversation, charity, spirit, faith and purity, that they neither take heed to themselves, nor rule their own families well? I remember that one speaking of such as commit the flock to vicar-curates, as all are who serve under Prelacy, saith, *Adi- bunt per vicarios in paradisum, in persona in infernos*. They shall go to heaven by their deputies, but to hell in person. These men, if I may borrow an allusion from the duty and commendation of faithful and approven ministers, have taken forth the precious from the vile, and taught the people the difference between the holy and profane, and caused men to discern between the unclean and the clean; but mark how, and for what end? Is it not by making *sad the hearts of the righteous*, whom they have selected, and set up as the only subject of all their malice and persecution, and *strengthening the hands of the wicked*, whom they have taken into their bosom, as their only familiars and confidants. The one they thrust with the side and shoulder, the other they do not suffer to turn from his evil way, by promising him life. But if any desire more particular information about them, amongst other places to that purpose, let them read and consider, *Jer* xxiii. 9. to 33. and v. 31. *Ezek.* xxxiv. 1. to 11. and xxii. 25. 26. 28. *Zeph.* iii. 4. *Mal.* ii. 8. 9. *Mat.* xxiii. and as face answereth to face in water, they shall see their call, qualities, doctrine, conversation, works and influence amongst the people, and

and the effects of all, together with their righteous doom and reward. He hath already made contemptible and base before the people, those who have corrupted the covenant of *Levi*, and being partial in the law, have made many to stumble thereat, and will he not cause to cease from feeding of the flock, those who feed themselves, eat the fat, and cloth with the wool, but do not (for indeed they cannot) strengthen the diseased, heal the sick, bind up that which is broken, bring back that which is driven away, nor seek that which is lost? They have not only turned his house of prayer into a den of thieves, but from them is profaneness gone forth over all the land; and seeing they deserve no more honourable *exit*, will he not scourge out of his temple, those who have sold faith and a good conscience for a mess of pottage? Yea, seeing he hath said it, we will believe, that he will make the false prophet and the unclean spirit pass out of the land, and that these men shall bear the wounds or marks of false prophets, and for shame shall deny, for lies are their ordinary refuge, that ever they were prophets; and that others, perhaps their nearest relations, the fathers and mothers who begat them, shall so little esteem, regard or pity them, that they shall account them unworthy to live, (*Ye shall not live*) and that he will again gather those that are now sorrowful for the solemn assemblies, that he will search for the flock, seek that which was lost, bring back that which was driven away, bind up that which was broken, and strengthen that which was sick, by the hand of pastors after his own heart, who, under and after the example of the great shepherd *DAVID*, shall feed them in a good pasture with wisdom and understanding. To all this, as well as the curse upon them, who make the blind to wander out of the way, let all the people say, *Amen*.

Neither

Neither are they who plead an *indifferency* of ecclesiastical forms of government, more scriptural or rational than the former: for it seemeth equally absurd and inconsistent with the faithfulness of Jesus Christ, who was faithful to him who appointed him; with the Lord's way of dealing with the Jewish church, whereunto he prescribed a specifical and fixed form of government; and with the perfection and plainness of the holy scriptures, wherein all church assemblies, officers, powers, acts, and who should exerce the same, and every other thing necessarily belonging thereunto, which the light of nature doth not teach, and is not common to it with civil government and order, are clearly held forth, expressly, or by necessary consequence, in special or general directions, and warrantable examples, as appeareth by the many debates extant thereanent, to leave the government of his church indifferent, and arbitrarily determinable and alterable, according to the will of the civil magistrate, or the various and mutable humours and inclinations of persons, times and places, or the pretended convenience of civil policy, as to leave doctrine and worship thus indifferent, and arbitrarily determinable and variable, according to these crooked and changeable rules: If church-government must be indifferent, and thus arbitrarily determinable and ambulatory, because the holy Scriptures do not expressly affirm, That presbyterial government is the *only* government, which should be in the Christian church, and also expressly declare, That it is *unalterable* to the world's end; and that the first institution and practice thereof, by the Apostles and their successors in the ministry, never was, nor shall be *repealed*, why may not the civil magistrate, or any other arrogating a power of instituting or altering church-government, or officers, by parity of reason,

reason, make many other necessary and practical points of faith, which are not more expressly declared by the holy Scriptures, to be unalterable truths, than presbyterial government is (though all be evident enough) to be also indifferent, and arbitrarily determinable and mutable? and then farewell infant-baptism, womens receiving of the Lord's supper, and observation of the first day of the week for the christian sabbath; yea, farewell law and testimony, and more sure word of prophecy, whereunto we should go and take heed; and for a new rule of faith and practice, welcome human prudence, state-policy, corrupt and changeable disposition of man, and pretended necessity or convenience of state, time and place; yea, welcome all doctrines and practices, which, tho' they were once positively prohibited, can allege, that the scripture doth not expressly declare, that they never were nor shall be repealed. And where are we then? In vain is the law, in vain is the pen of the scribe, and every one, without transgression, may do what seemeth good in his own eyes, if only he can temporize, and offend not the civil magistrate, by violation of his arbitrary institutions and laws in church-affairs, wherein he must be supreme. *O my soul, come not into the secrets of such Latitudinarian, or rather (in this) Nullifidian Adiaphorists.* We would not be here mistaken, as if we denied to the civil magistrate any power, which the holy Scriptures allow unto him; for as we assert his office to be an ordinance of God, and his person, being lawfully therewith vested, to be signally impressed with a special character of majestic authority; wherefore, in a due subordination to him who is Lord over all, he should be subjected to and obeyed: so we cheerfully grant, That, whereas the Heathen magistrate, because of his moral incapacity to exercise more power
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about religion and ecclesiastical affairs, hath only a power in *actu signato* and *jus ad rem*, the Christian magistrate hath *jus in re*, and in *actu exercito* may and should, by his laws, establish the true religion within his dominions, and command his subjects to make public profession thereof: That by his civil sanction he may and should ratify ecclesiastical sentences, agreeable to the word of God; that anent these he may and should exercise an antecedent discrete judgment, whereby he may not add an implicit approbation: That for preaching and propagation of the gospel, and for nursing of piety and learning, he may and should provide necessary and convenient accommodation and encouragement, as to persons, places and revenues: That for his own information and advice, he may call occasional meetings of church-officers and others, to confer and debate matters before him: That *pro re nata* he may convocate ecclesiastical synods, to reason and conclude church-affairs according to the scripture: That for his own information, and for preventing of outward force and inward confusion, he may be present therein by himself or his delegates: That by his power he may and should defend and encourage the church, in the free and peaceable possession of all her intrinsical privileges; and all the members thereof, in the profession and practice of the same: That, by the same authority he may and should repress error, heresy, superstition, Atheism, blasphemy and profaneness, and punish the authors and spreaders thereof: That, in case of negligence, he may command all, and even ministers, to perform their respective duties in general, as necessity requireth: And that, for civil transgressions, he may civilly punish ecclesiastical persons, as well as other subjects, according to the law of God, and righteous laws of the land: the

zealous

zealous discharge of all which we would thankfully acknowledge to God and man as the faithful performance of that gracious promise; that *kings shall be the churches nursing fathers*. But, if discontented herewith, as if all this, together with the weighty affairs of the commonwealth, were too little work for his transcendent power and abilities, and as if Jesus Christ had no kingdom or government, or these were not distinct from the kingdoms and government of the world; or though they were, as if he were equally head and fountain of both, he will needs arbitrarily institute or alter, the *species* of church-government; authorize, exauthorize or restrain church-officers in the exercise of the power of order or jurisdiction, in whole or in part, as the *parliament* and *council* have prohibited some hundreds the whole exercise of their ministry, and the *High Commission*, which claimeth no power, but what is solely and immediately derived from the King, hath deprived some from the office, and interdicted others the administration of the Lord's supper: If he will define articles of faith, and prescribe what heads of doctrine ministers shall treat, or not treat of, in their sermons, as the King hath done in his printed letter to the Bishop of *York*; and thereupon primarily, immediately, and antecedently to any judgment of the church, which is the pillar of truth, and to which the spirits of the prophets are subject, cognose and determine of ministers doctrine, when the church herself is willing and ready to try the spirits; and criminally or capitally punish them therefore, under the pretence of treason and rebellion, as several instances can be adduced against King and council in the *series* of our church: If he will ordain particular church censures to be executed against particular persons, for particular definite ecclesiastical alleged offences, leaving nothing un-

done

done by himself in person, but the execution of what he hath appointed, as the parliament hath appointed suspension and deprivation of ministers, for not observing the Bishop's meetings, and the King in his commission to the *High Commission* hath appointed excommunication; whereas, they may as well immediately suspend, deprive and excommunicate themselves, as appoint them to be executed in the manner specified in the said act of parliament and commission: If after the example of Antichristian or Pagan nations, he will institute and enjoin needless, vain, superstitious, significant and burdensome rites in the worship of God, as most of the imposed ceremonies in the Liturgy, can be instructed to be: If he will arrogate the sole power of convocating ecclesiastical synods, which is an intrinsic privilege of the church, whereof she was in possession three hundred years before there was a Christian magistrate in the world authorizing it: And will imprison, confine, condemn, and banish ministers, for pleading and practising this right, as King *James* did not a few in and about 1606, and the present King of late, by parliament, council and commissioner, did interdict all the lawful assemblies of the church, which did not derive their power from the abjured and perjured Prelates; and if he will not only claim the only power of indicting solemn fasts and thanksgivings, as *de facto* is done these five or six years past, but also institute a day to be anniversaryly holy for ever, which no mortal man can do: If, I say, he will thus invade the kingdom of Christ, confound it with the kingdoms of the world, and equally exerce the governments of both, no man needs pronounce, but rather fear the domestic and personal doom, executed upon *Saul* and *Uzziah* for usurping the priest's office. How unequal dealing is it, that he who clamoureth so
much

much of other men, and particularly ministers wandering without their sphere, and overstretching, meddling with civil affairs, should himself be uncircumscribed, and move within no fixed sphere? Is it not enough that he have a power objectly ecclesiastical, about church affairs, but he must also have a power formally ecclesiastical, whereby he may exert acts purely spiritual, and proper to church-officers? Will it not suffice him, that he have an external power, of providing for the church, and protecting of her from outward violence or inward disorder, but he must also have an internal power, of doctrine, government, and discipline, and the several forms and acts thereof? Is it not sufficient that he have an imperate power, whereby he may command all his subjects, as such, to do their respective duties; but he must also have an elicit power, whereby he may at least materially or equivalently exert spiritual acts in his own person? Will it not please him, that he have a civil power, of punishing church officers, as subjects, for civil transgressions, but he must also have a spiritual power of censuring them for ecclesiastical offences? Will it not content him that he have a secondary power of judicial approbation or condemnation of what the church hath already found and declared to be truth or error, but he must also have a primary and immediate power of cognition of truth and error, antecedent to any judgment of the church thereanent? Will it not satisfy him, that he have a discretive power, whereby he may not implicitly ratify ecclesiastical sentences, but he must also have a definitive power of authoritative decision? And in a word, is it not enough, that he have a cumulative power of confirming and strengthening the power and privileges of the church, but he must

also have a privative power, whereby, if he please, he may destroy the same ?

That the Lord hath had, and to the world's end will have a church, none who believe the authority of the holy Scriptures can deny or question; and that he hath fixed discriminative boundaries between his own and the kingdoms of the earth, that is, between his church and other civil societies, and their respective governments, is no less evident: for though both consist of men, and sometimes of the same persons; though both have order and government; a power to exercise the same, and that derived from God; and the persons invested therewith should be qualified; and in the exercise thereof should walk absolutely by the rule of the word; punishing and censuring after clear conviction, by confession or probation; and should ultimately aim at the glory of God, and good of the people; and for that effect be mutually subservient and useful one to another; in these, amongst other things, they agree, yet they are formally distinct: for they consist of men under distinct notions and relations: Civil society and policy is founded upon the light and law of nature; ecclesiastical, by revealed positive precept: The one is common to all men as men, the other is peculiar to those who profess the true God: The form of the one, may be monarchical; the other not: The object of the one, is civil; the other, is spiritual; the nature of the one, and manner of exerting it, is magisterial? and the other, ministerial; the acts and sentences of the one are corporal; the other, spiritual; the immediate rule of exercising the one, is the laws of the land; and the other, the word of God and ecclesiastical constitutions agreeable thereunto; the one, is performed in the name of the supreme magistrate; the other, in the name of Jesus Christ; the immedi-

the end of the one, is the good of the commonwealth; the other, the good of souls. Yea, tho' the church and commonwealth of the *Jews*, of all others that ever were, did most agree, yet were they *formally* distinct: for they had ordinarily distinct *rulers*, the priests and Levites for the one, judges and kings for the other; they had distinct *acts*, sacrificing, praying &c. in the church; death, banishment, confiscation, imprisonment, *Ezra.ii.26.* in the state; they had distinct *objects*, the matters of the *Lord*, and the matters of the *King*, *2 Chron. xix. 11.* Distinct *laws*; the ceremonial, for the church, the judicial, for the commonwealth, and the moral, for both; they had sometimes distinct *members*, when these of the one, were not admitted to some privileges of the other; the *form* of the state did alter from judges to kings, but the churches, was unalterably the same; and they had their distinct periods of duration, for the church continued, though corrupt, after the civil government was overturned by the *Romans*.

And as the church and state of the *Jews* were in these things distinct, so had they their distinct governments, and judicatories for exerting the same respectively; for *Exod. xxiv. 1.* there are seventy elders; who verse 14. appear to be vested with authority, and to have *Aaron* and *Hur* for their presidents or moderators; now these seventy elders cannot be the seventy, who *Numb. xi.* shared of the government with *Moses*, for these mentioned *Exod. xxiv.* were in authority when the *Israelites* were at *Sinai*, whereas the other mentioned *Numb. xi.* were chosen after they went to *Sinai*, neither can they be any other seventy in civil authority, because before the election of those, *Numb. xi.* *Moses* was alone in the government. Again, *Deut. xvii.* there are distinct *causes*, viz. *Blood and blood, plea and*

plea, which were civil, and *stroke*, and *stroke* which (whether it was leprosy) belonged to the priests to judge of; *Lev. xiii. 3.* distinct rulers, viz. the *priests*, the *Levites*, and the *judge*, who *ver. 11.* are distinguished by the disjunctive particle *or*; distinct acts of *telling* or *exponing the sentence of the law*, and of *telling judgment*, *ver. 10. 11.* and distinct penalties, of *death*, and *putting the evil from Israel*, *ver. 12.* Further in *1 Chron. xxiii. 4.* ye will find six thousand of the Levites who were *officers* and *judges*, which must needs have been in ecclesiastical affairs, because, *1 Chron. xxviii. 1.* there were princes of tribes, captains of thousands, hundreds, stewards and officers, for civil affairs. And, *2 Chr. xix. 8. &c.* there are *church-officers*, *priests*, *Levites*, *chief of the fathers*; there are distinct matters, the *matters of the Lord*, and the *matters of the king*, *ver. 11.* There are distinct acts or sentences for *warning not to trespass*, which are more proper to ecclesiastical than civil persons; and there are distinct moderators or presidents, *Amariah is over you for the matters of the Lord*, and *Zebadiah for the matters of the king*. Now what should all this mean, viz. distinct causes, and persons set over them to judge them respectively, and what meaneth these distinct acts, sentences and penalties, if not to hold out the distinction of government, and of judicatories respectively exercising the same? Yea, what was in the Old Testament, we may know by what we read in the New, for *Matth. xxi. 23.* and *xxvii. 1.* and *xxvi. 3. 57. 59.* *Acts. iv. 5. 6. 25.* and *v. 21. 27.* there are *assemblies* and *councils*, which must needs be ecclesiastical: not only because they consisted of ecclesiastical persons, the *high priest*, *chief priests* and *elders of the people*; cognosced of ecclesiastical causes, the *life*, *doctrine* and *authority* of Christ and his apostles; and past ecclesiastical sentences

tences about preaching in the name of Christ, *Acts* iv. and v. but also because, the *Jews* being subdued; the supreme civil government was taken out of their hands, and little left them but the ecclesiastical. And, if at any time, in the Old Testament, the same persons were members of both judicatories, it was under distinct notions and considerations, as ecclesiastical in the one, and civil in the other; as now the ruling elder, under several considerations and capacities, may be a member of an ecclesiastical and civil judicatory. It is true that the high priests and some kings had great hand in both civil and ecclesiastical affairs, but extraordinary, and may be typical instances, are not an ordinary and universal rule; and it may be also, that in the New Testament these councils meddled in civil affairs, for *Matth.* xxvii. 1. they take council against *Jesus* to put him to death, but that was by corrupt abuse of their power, which crept in, in the declining state of the church, and when the civil government was taken from them by strangers, or when wanting a magistrate, they took more upon them than at another time; for it was not so from the beginning, and was by the like corrupt and extravagant abuse, as now the *High Commission*, if it be an ecclesiastical court, doth scourge, stigmatize, fine and banish, or the prelates now as members of *parliament, council, and session*, make themselves, judges of blood, pleas, &c. And as this was the manner and difference of the Jewish church and state under the Old Testament, so under the New Testament, there is by divine institution, a *formal* and *specifical* difference, between the government of the church and commonwealth: for ye will not only find office-bearers given unto, and set in the church, *Rom.* xii. 8. *1 Cor.* xii. 28. *Ephes.* iv. 11. which are as well distinct from office-bearers of the state as from the

people, for neither magistrate nor people were ever called *Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, &c.* especially in the Apostle's sense; but also **RULERS**, distinct from the rulers of the common-wealth, who *1 Thess. v. 12. are over the people, and Hebr. xiii. 17. rule over them.* Now these rulers cannot be the magistrate, for in none of the places doth the Apostle intend or mention him. Besides, at that time there was not a Christian magistrate to rule the state, and how should the rule of the Church be committed to a Pagan? And *1 Tim. v. 17.* He that labours in word and doctrine, seemeth to have more honour, than he who ruleth, which, if either magistrate or prelate be the ruler, how will they relish, and that the poor preaching presbyter should be more honoured than they, let any man judge. Here then are ecclesiastical rulers, distinct from these of the commonwealth. To these rulers belong the cognition of ecclesiastical offences, in contradistinction to civil causes and judges; *Mat. xviii. — Tell the Church:* now the civil magistrate cannot be this Church, where is he ever so termed? Or how will he, being himself a Heathen, account another man so: here then is a *Church* distinct from the commonwealth; here are church-offences distinct from the breaches of civil or municipale laws; here is church delation or complaint, distinct from any complaint to the magistrate, *tell the Church,* and consequently, here is a church power of cognition of these offences, distinct from that which resides in the magistrate, else it were in vain to *tell the Church,* and as good or better to *tell the magistrate,* and here is a church-sentence, *Let him be unto thee as a Heathen,* which the magistrate, being then Heathen himself, would never pronounce against, or inflict as a punishment upon another man. To these church-rulers also is committed not only the

the power of order, or pastoral administration of word and sacraments, but also the power of jurisdiction, whether dogmatical, diatactical, critical, or exusialtical, and not to the civil magistrate, and accordingly Jesus Christ giveth the keys of the kingdom of Heaven to *Peter* and not to *Cesar*, *Matth.* xvi. 19. Ye will find the church-assemblies, distinct from parliaments, convention of estate, senates, &c. (yea, when the magistrate was an enemy) determining questioned matters of faith and practice, *Acts* xv. The Apostle *Paul* enjoineth the church of *Corinth*, and not the magistrate, both to excommunicate and absolve the incestuous man, *1 Cor.* v. 4. 5. and *2 Cor.* ii. 7. 8. The same Apostle leaveth *Titus*, and not the magistrate, to ordain elders in every city, *Tit.* i. 5. and accordingly it is performed by the presbytery, and not by the magistrate, *1 Tim.* iv. 14. the Apostle *John* threateneth by himself, and not by the civil magistrate, to censure *Diotrephes*, *3 John* 10. and as the power itself, and the several acts thereof are committed to church officers; so to them, and not to the civil magistrate, are all the directions given for regulation of the exercise thereof, distinct from the directions given to the magistrate for the regulation of affairs of commonwealth: and so, in the case of offence, there must be private rebuke before public delation, *Mat.* xviii. 15. 16. 17. In the case of public scandal, there must be a rebuking before all, *1 Tim.* iv. 20. In the case of public censure, there must be notoriety of the fault, *1 Cor.* v. 1. or sufficient conviction of the person, by confession or probation, *Mat.* xviii. 15. In the case of excommunication, it must be when the church is gathered together, *1 Cor.* v. 4. and not after the prelatical fashion, in a corner; in the case of absolution, there must be sufficient evidence of repentance, *2 Cor.* ii. 7. In the

case of ordination of ministers, there must be the election of the people, *Acts* vi. 3. 4. 5. Trial, *1 Tim.* iii. 10. and laying on of the hands of the presbytery, *1 Tim.* iv. 14. and they must be fixed to particular flocks, *Tit.* i. 5. How distinct are these, and all other directions given to church officers for regulation thereof, from the direction given to the civil magistrate for regulation of the commonwealth? And the church officers, and not the civil magistrate, are commended or discommended according as they faithfully or unfaithfully exercise this power and follow these directions: So the *Angel* of the church of *Ephesus*, which I hope none will say was the magistrate, is commended for trying them which said they were Apostles, and were not, *Rev.* ii. 2. It was not the emperor, senate, &c. that tried these false Apostles, as of late the *parliament*, *council*, and *high commission*, ejected many hundreds of faithful ministers without trial; the *angels* of the churches of *Pergamus* and *Thyatira* are discommended for tolerating false doctrine and corrupt practice, ver. 11. 15. 20. so is the church of *Corinth* blamed for not timeous excommunicating of the incestuous person, *1 Cor.* v. for the like omissions which are reproved in these angels, I know them who now deserve a sharper censure, *Sed quod defertur, non auferetur.*

From all which, as the formal and specifical difference betwixt the power and government of church and commonwealth is abundantly evident; so Jesus Christ himself, and not the civil magistrate, is the *author and fountain* of church power and government; than which, there can be nothing more clear to them who do not wilfully shut their own eyes, or whom the god of this world hath not blinded: for, besides that himself telleth us, that he hath received all power and judgment from
the

the Father, *Mat. xxviii. 18.* *John v. 22.* and *John* beareth him that testimony, *John iii. 35.* And who should derive power to others, but he who received it for that end? Let us consider his name and relation to the church; in what relation he standeth to the commonwealth or civil magistrate, I do not here inquire, but the Apostle tells us, that *he*, and not the civil magistrate, is *head* of the church, *Eph. i. 22.* and *v. 23.* and, *as such*, he doth not only mystically communicate inward grace to the members, but oeconomically derive power and direction for the outward regulation of the whole body. How then can the magistrate be head of the church, or supreme governor in all causes ecclesiastical? Must the church have two heads, or a head above a head? Why may not a church-officer or officers, as well claim, with the Pope, to be head of the commonwealth? Will they shew us a warrant from scripture or reason for the one, which will not as strongly plead for the other? Well then, let Christ be still head of the church. And as such, ye will find *him*, and not the civil magistrate, *instituting* all church-ordinances for administration of word and sacraments, *Mat. xxviii. 19.* *1 Cor. xi. 23.* for excommunication and absolution, *Mat. xviii. 17. 18.* and all other acts of government and discipline: ye will find *him*, and not the civil magistrate, *instituting* church-offices; *he* it is who gave, *Ephes. iv. 11.* and set in the church, *1 Cor. xii. 28.* Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Teachers, &c. and who is he that dare alter by addition or diminution? Ye will find *him*, and not the civil magistrate, *authorizing* these officers to exert the several acts of the power of order and jurisdiction, *Mat. xxviii. 19.* Ye will find *him*, and not the civil magistrate, *furnishing* these church officers, with gifts and graces for their work; as none goeth here upon

on their own expences, so can any magistrate breathe the Holy Ghost, as Christ did upon his Apostles? *John* xx. 22. In *his* name, and not in the name of the magistrate, must they perform all church-acts; they must assemble, *Mat.* xviii. 20. baptise, *Mat.* xxviii. 19. excommunicate, *1 Cor.* v. 4. and do all in *his* name: *he*, and not the magistrate, maketh laws absolutely and primarily obliging to the church and church-officers, and therefore is *he* called the *lawgiver*, *Isai.* xxxiii. 22. *Jam.* iv. 12. *he*, and not the civil magistrate, will call church-rulers to their final account; an account they must give, *Heb.* xiii. 17. and to whom, but to him that gave them commission, and is *judge*? *Isai.* xxxiii. 22. and in recognition of all this, the Apostle *Paul* acknowledgeth that the Lord *Jesus*, and not the civil magistrate, *giveth ministerial power and authority*, *2 Cor.* x. 8. and *2 Cor.* xiii. 10. and because of this they are called the *ministers of Christ*, *1 Cor.* iv. 1. and *ambassadors for Christ*, *2 Cor.* v. 20 and not of or for the magistrate, as now the king termeth the prelates, *Our Bishops*: his servants they are, and therefore should not be pleasers of man, nor of the magistrate, *Gal.* i. 10. as they ought to be, if he gave them commission: if the magistrate, *as such*, be head of the church, and fountain of church-power and government, I would gladly know, how or whence the apostles, their successors, and others in the ministry, had power to teach or govern the church, when there was no Christian magistrate to derive power to them? Or whether they had any power at all, or were usurpers? or what the church shall do for power when the magistrate is Heathen, Antichristian, or a woman, a child, a fool, a tyrant, or heretick, &c. shall the church all this time want a head? Or shall the body of Christ, have a Pagan-head? Shall a woman, who must not speak

In the church, be head of the church? Shall a child or idiot, who cannot govern themselves, have the external regulation of the church? Or shall cruel tyrants, who oppress or destroy the commonwealth and bodies of men, have the regulation of the church, and of the souls of men? We may then go to the Pope, the Turk, the wild Indian, infidels, and savages, for a head to the church before she want; for whatever belongeth to one man, as a magistrate, belongeth to all magistrates: but we will hold us content with the head, *Jesus Christ*, which the Father hath given us.

Now from this, that church power and government are thus distinct from the civil, and that Jesus Christ, and not the magistrate, is author and fountain thereof, it evidently followeth, that it is not *subordinate* to the magistrate. It is true, that the magistrate hath much power objectively ecclesiastical, and that church officers, as *subjects*, are subject to him: yet ecclesiastical power itself, is not properly subordinate to the civil. This will the more appear, not only because it is not derived from the magistrate, as the head or fountain thereof, nor is exercised in his name, but also if we consider, that proper subordination, is only in things flowing from the same fountain, and of the same nature; whereas civil and ecclesiastical powers are neither from the same immediate fountain, if the one be from *Jehovah* essentially considered, and as great Lord Creator and Gubernator of the world; the other from the Lord *Redeemer*, head and king of his church; nor yet are they of the same, but different natures, as is said before: Again; if it were properly subordinate to the civil power, then the magistrate himself, might exert all ecclesiastical acts, in the administration of word and sacraments, as well as of jurisdiction; for as no reason can be adduced,

adduced, why he may institute or alter church government or officers, or exercise the external regulation thereof, which will not by parity of strength infer his exercising acts of order; so every superior power including inferior, he may as well exert all ecclesiastical power, as civil, if the one be subordinate to the other: and further, the magistrate himself, as a Christian, is but a member of the church, and subject to church-government and discipline, though it should not be practised, except for most weighty causes, in great necessity, and with singular prudence, and all due respect and reverence to civil authority, and the person therewith vested; and accordingly many magistrates have been censured: yea, in some cases, as if the magistrate should unjustly forbid to preach, baptise, ordain, deprive, excommunicate, &c. the church may exercise church power without and against his consent, which she could not do, if it were subordinate to him. I know there are many clamours of the absurdity and inconsistency of two collateral and co-ordinate supreme powers and governments in one kingdom; and indeed that absurdity and inconsistency may hold true, of two supreme collateral and co-ordinate powers *ejusdem generis*, but not in this case where they are *diversi generis*: yea of their own natures, they are so far from being hurtful; that, being rightly managed, they are singularly helpful to one another: neither can these two powers and governments in a land, import now under the New Testament greater absurdity and inconsistency, than under the Old, when the Jews had their ecclesiastical *sanedrim*, as well as civil courts, for the affairs of the commonwealth. Hence also it followeth, that as ecclesiastical power is not subject to the civil; so, in matters ecclesiastical, there should be no *appellation* from the church

church to the civil magistrate: for though when church judicatories, without their sphere, meddle in civil causes *as such*; or, for ecclesiastical offences, inflict civil punishments, they may be declined as judges incompetent in the one case, and complaint of an unjust or heterogeneous sentence is lawful in the other; and though the magistrate, before he add his ratification, may require a reason of ecclesiastical proceedings; or, in case of an unjust sentence, may desire the church to consider the matter again; and the church is bound thus to give a reason, or consider the matter, especially in a degenerate or declining time of the church, when more is permitted to the faithful magistrate, than otherwise; yet there can be no appellation from the church to the magistrate in ecclesiastical causes and sentences: not only because all appellations are from the inferior to the superior in *eodem genere*, but the church and state are not such, as is cleared before; but also because the church is indued with complete power of cognoscing and final determining ecclesiastical affairs, without dependance upon the state; and these determinations, being just, the Lord hath promised to ratify, *Mat. xviii. 18.* And the magistrate, having no formal church power, cannot pronounce ecclesiastical sentences, or make redress by himself, and so the appellation is in vain. *Paul's* appealing to *Cæsar*, *Acts xxv. 11.* will not help this weak cause; for he did not appeal in an ecclesiastical cause, from an ecclesiastical court, to a court of another nature, but in a matter of alleged sedition, from *Festus* an inferior magistrate, to *Cæsar* the supreme. Neither is the instance of *Jeremiah* stronger than the former (*Jer. xxvi. 8. 9. &c.*) for there is no mention of his appealing from the priests to the magistrate, but of his apology before the princes, who came to hear the matter, and their volun-

voluntary delivering him from the unjust persecuti-
 on of the Priests and Prophets, who were not
 competent judges of life and death. Neither is the
 exception of the difference betwixt a Heathen and
 Christian magistrate more valid in this matter; for
 (besides all that is before said) in the Old Testament,
 the government of the church was committed to
 church-officers, even when the magistrate was reli-
 gious, and why not in the New? The government
 of the church is not committed to them, *because* the
 magistrate is Heathen, or upon temporary, but up-
 on other moral and immutable grounds; and there-
 fore should not be taken from them when he be-
 cometh Christian: It is sure, that the church had
 power given unto her to govern herself, when the
 magistrate was Heathen, now when and where is
 that power repealed? If church-government be-
 long to the Christian magistrate, then it is either
as magistrate or *as Christian*, if *as magistrate* or *as*
Christian, then, according to the known maxim, it
 belongeth to *every* magistrate, and so to the Hea-
 then, and to *every* Christian, both which are false:
 Was the magistrate no magistrate or incomplete,
 when, being Heathen, he did not meddle with
 church-government? Or did the church usurp and
 rob the Heathen magistrate of that power, in the
 Apostles days, and two or three hundred years
 after? Shall the church, by the promise of *nursing*
fathers, have less power and privilege, or be in
 worse condition, by a Christian than Heathen ma-
 gistrate? And how vain is the distinction of out-
 ward regulation of the church, and inward, (for
 that must be the other term) for the inward regu-
 lation thereof belongs incontrovertibly to Jesus
 Christ, and, if the magistrate hath the outward,
 what is left to the church? These things, which,
 had they been formally digested, would have been
 more

more clear and convincing, are only thus confusedly and abruptly hinted: nor should I have said so much, if, besides the Erastian spirit, which, more than ever, doth now rage, some parliamentary and council-expressions, and agreeable practices, had not given occasion. Whether it be primitive or not, let the reader judge, but sure I am, *the king's government of the church and state, Charles, &c. supreme governor in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil; the Bishops serving the king in the church, is neither scriptural nor safe dialect.* Him they may serve, and whether or how, time will tell; but well know I, whom they do not serve in the church: and indeed it is proper, that they who are there, only by the will of man, should only serve man. His commissioners they are, and accordingly *Sharp* hath deposed some ministers *by virtue of the power, which he hath from his majesty*, and therefore they can expect no greater assistance, blessing or reward than he can give; but yet there is a greater to whom they must give an account.

Having, beyond my first intention, detained thee longer, then perhaps was necessary, or will be profitable or pleasant. Thou may'st now speak with the *Deduction*, which is of age, and able to answer for itself, if according to the patience, learning, and justice of many, thou do not refute and condemn before thou know it, or brandish big words, as he who, upon a coronation-day, offereth duel to all who question the king's right, when he knoweth, that (for *major vis*) none dare appear in the contrary. But in the passing, take a word of the *national covenant, the solemn league and covenant, and solemn acknowledgment of sins and engagement unto duties*, that, at one view, thou may'st see *Scotland's* engagements and breaches, the faithfulness of many, and flood of sin and suffering that hath

hath overflowed the land: here is the *terminus a quo* and *ad quem* of our backsliding, whereof, tho' the most skilled artist cannot pourtray to the life the whole body, the form is so monstrous and complexion so strange, he may well darkly represent some lineaments of fingers and toes; that the reader may know *ex ungue leonem*; yet the author hath nervously asserted the truth, and drawn matters of fact, with such true colours, that he can only be accused for a picture fairer than the live-face of many persons and actions. To wind up all, be not discouraged upon the one hand, nor insult upon the other, by the death of many mighty men of God, co-workers and eye-witnesses of his work, within these few years past, and the stripling-frature of many survivors, who have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of their fathers; and, being but of yesterday, can know little of the Lord's ancient kindness to the land, except what their fathers have told them: for as he hath reserved a numerous remnant of holy, learned, and faithful men, a rich cluster wherein there is a blessing, and we have reason to bless him, who gave not our church dry breasts and a miscarrying womb; so he can make the barren bear seven, and become a joyful mother of many children; and as he hath work for them, will raise up both shepherds and principal men. It is true, alas! there is grown up a most degenerate off-spring of all qualities, some whereof, and not the meaneft, being as profane as *Machiavel*, who teacheth rulers to keep promise and oath no longer, than with pretended advantage they can break; and that it is a prejudice to be *really* religious, but not so honest as he, who notwithstanding affirmeth a necessity of *seeming* to be religious, which they are not, account no man to be a man, who, by whoring, swearing, drink-

drinking, and spending all or more than they have, do not class themselves into their new profane orders, and become as *Cartesian* in their religion, by atheistical doubtings and disputings about God, the Holy Scriptures, Heaven, Hell, &c. as others are in their philosophy. But here is an advantage, that by discovery, and distinguishing betwixt the precious and the vile, the Lord hath made this defection contribute more to the facility, as well as necessity, of a future purgation of the church, than all her judicatures could ever effectuate without it. And further, as he hath frustrated many chief authors and promoters thereof, of their hopes and designs, and called Nobles, Prelates, and others, to an account before they well tasted the expected sweetness, or were warm in their places or promotions; so though *Herod* and *Pilate* may agree against the innocent, yet where men are like *Samson's* foxes, only tied together by the tail of common corrupt principles, whilst their heads, of self-interest and designs, look different ways, what such a position, conjunction and aspect prognosticateth, let Scripture, reason and experience be consulted, and they will tell. Let us not, in the mean time, mistake God's work, ways, doings nor intentions, neither be envious at evil doers, nor yet be curious or anxious about futuritions, much less limit the holy One, to means, method or time, but bear the indignation of the Lord because we have sinned, till he plead our cause, waiting upon him who is a God of judgment; and waiteth that he may be gracious, and in patience possess our souls; for, though we do not, he knoweth his own thoughts toward us, it may be they are thoughts of peace and not of evil, to give an expected end, and that, when he hath ripen'd deliverance, he will bring us forth to the light, and we shall behold his righteousness.

ousness. It is a crime of the highest nature with our rulers, to complain or supplicate for redress. Others, are either of deaf ears, or feeble hands, and cannot help; and seeing we can do no more for the cause and covenant of God, for our mother-church, the land, ourselves, our brethren and posterity, let us open our cause to him who trieth the righteous. *O Lord hear, O Lord forgive, O Lord hearken and do: defer not for thine own sake, O my God: for thy city and thy people are called by thy name, AMEN.*

The TESTIMONY of Mr. JAMES WOOD,
Minister of the Gospel, and Professor of Theology, in the University of *St. Andrews*, for Presbyterian Government.

I Mr. JAMES WOOD, being now shortly (by appearance) to render up my spirit to the Lord, find myself obliged to leave a word behind me, for my just vindication before the world. It hath been said of me, that I have, in word at least, resealed from my wonted zeal for presbyterial government, expressing myself concerning it, as if it were a matter not to be accounted of, and that no man should trouble himself in the matter and practice thereof. It is true, being under sickness, I have sometimes said, I was taken up with weightier matters, than any external ordinance, and what wonder I said so? Being under such wrestling anent my interest in Jesus Christ, which is a matter of far greater concernment. Surely any Christian in this church that knows me, will judge there is a wrong done unto me: for since the day that the Lord convinced my heart, which was by a strong hand, that it was the ordinance of God, appointed by Jesus Christ, for governing and ordering his visible church, I never had the least change of thoughts,

thoughts, concerning the necessity of it, nor of the necessity of the use of it. And now I declare before God and the world, that I account so of it still: and that however there be some more precious ordinances, yet that this is so precious, that a true Christian is obliged to lay down his life for the profession thereof, if the Lord shall see it meet to put him to the tryal. And for myself, if I were to live, I should account it my glory, to seal this word of my testimony with my blood. Of this my declaration, I take God, angels and men to be my witnesses, and have subscribed this presents with my hand, the 2d of March 1664, about 7 hours afternoon, before Mr. William Tullidaf and Mr. John Carstairs, my brother in law, and John Pitcairn, writer bereof.

Mr. JAMES WOOD.

AS the matter of this testimony is very considerable, especially from so great a man as Mr. James Wood was; so the occasion and consequents thereof are very observable, which were thus; Mr. Sharp, having formerly been intimately familiar with Mr. Wood, came to visit him under his sickness, whereunto Sharp's apostacy had no small accession, and thereafter did falsely spread a report, by word and write, that Mr. Wood had receded from presbyterial government. Whereof, when Mr. Wood was informed, he was of new grievously affected and afflicted; and thereupon, for his own vindication, left this testimony behind him. But Mr. Sharp finding himself thereby made a publick liar, (making lyes still his refuge) pursueth Mr. Wood being dead, as well as alive, with a new slander, alledging his testimony to be fictitious, or extorted from him, when, through distemper of his sickness, he knew not what he did; and thereupon caused summon the witnesses, the writer, and

some other persons, before the *High Commission*: but the contrary of this was, and is most evident, not only because this testimony was written and subscribed, a considerable number of days before his death, during which interval, as before, he was so composed, that he spake many gracious words about his own soul, ordered his civil affairs, and a famous physician was not without hopes of his recovery; but also, because, hearing that some of his faithful brethren and co-presbyters were in the town, he sent once and again for them, and before them, and some other ministers at other times, purged himself of that unjust imputation, and did bear witness for presbyterial government more fully and freely than is in the written testimony; and some time thereafter, of his own accord, did call for the writer, and, there being none other present in the chamber at the beginning, did indite, and cause him write the same, as it now is, without any alteration; as also, in a letter written some considerable time before, inviting Mr. *Carstairs* to come and visit him, he had made mention of the backsliding, trials and sufferings of the times, and expressed his desire to live, that he might give a more free testimony to the truth. Notwithstanding all which Mr. *Sharp* (obstructing the reading of a letter written by Mr. *Carstairs* to the *Chancellor*, containing and clearing the matter of fact) persisted, with great attestations before the *High Commission*, in his former false alledgance, and slandering both of the dead and the living, and caused imprisonment the writer and one of the witnesses, and forced the other, whom, for his eminent parts, holiness and faithfulness, he most pursued, to a retirement for his own safety. *What shall be given to thee, O Sharp! Or what shall be done to thee; O false tongue? Sharp arrows of the mighty, and coals of Juniper.*

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The National COVENANT ;

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The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland, subscribed at first by the King's majesty and his household, in the year 1580. Thereafter, by persons of all ranks, in the year 1581, by ordinance of the Lords of secret council, and acts of the general assembly. Subscribed again by all sorts of persons in the year 1590, by a new ordinance of council, at the desire of the general assembly: with a general band for maintainance of the true Christian religion and the King's person. And now subscribed in the year 1638, by us, Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgessees, Ministers, and Commons, then under-subscribing; together with our resolution and promises for the causes after specified, to maintain the said true religion, and the King's majesty, according to the confession fore-said, and acts of parliament. And now, upon the supplication of the general assembly to his Majesty's High Commissioner, and the Lords of his Majesty's Honourable Privy-council, subscribed again in the year 1639. by ordinance of council, and act of general assembly. The tenor whereof here followeth,

WE all, and every one of us underwritten, protest, That, after long and due examination of our own consciences, in matters of true and false religion, we are now fully resolved in the truth,

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by the word and spirit of God; and therefore we believe with our hearts, confess with our mouths, subscribe with our hands, and constantly affirm before God, and the whole world, That this only is the true Christian faith and religion, pleasing God, and bringing salvation to man, which now is, by the mercy of God, revealed to the world, by the preaching of the blessed evangel; and is received, believed, and defended, by many and sundry notable kirks and realms, but chiefly by the *Kirk of Scotland, the King's majesty, and three estates of this realm*, as God's eternal truth, and only ground of our salvation: as more particularly is expressed in the Confession of our Faith, established, and publickly confirmed by sundry acts of parliaments, and now of a long time hath been openly professed by the king's majesty, and whole body of this realm both in burgh and land. To the which confession and form of religion, we willingly agree in our consciences, in all points, as unto God's undoubted truth and verity, grounded only upon his written word. And therefore, we abhor and detest all contrary religion and doctrine: but chiefly, all kind of Papistry, in general and particular heads, even as they are now damned and confuted by the *word of God, and Kirk of Scotland*: but in special, we detest and refuse the usurped authority of that Roman Antichrist upon the scriptures of God; upon the Kirk, the civil magistrate, and consciences of men; all his tyrannous laws made upon indifferent things against our Christian liberty, his erroneous doctrine against the sufficiency of the written word, the perfection of the law, the office of Christ, and his blessed evangel. His corrupted doctrine concerning original sin, our natural inability and rebellion to God's law, our justification by faith only, our imperfect sanctification and obedience to the law, the
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nature, number and use of the holy sacraments, His five bastard sacraments, with all his rites, ceremonies, and false doctrine, added to the ministration of the true sacraments without the word of God. His cruel judgment against infants departing without the sacrament: his absolute necessity of baptism: his blasphemous opinion of transubstantiation, or real presence of Christ's body in the elements, and receiving of the same by the wicked, or bodies of men: his dispensations with solemn oaths, perjuries, and degrees of marriage forbidden in the word: his cruelty against the innocent divorced: his devilish mass: his blasphemous priesthood: his profane sacrifice for the sins of the dead and the quick; his canonization of men, calling upon angels or saints departed, worshipping of imagery, relics, and crosses; dedicating of kirks, altars, days; vows to creatures; his purgatory, prayers for the dead; praying or speaking in a strange language; with his processions and blasphemous litany, and multitude of advocates or mediators: his manifold orders, auricular confession: his desperate and uncertain repentance; his general and doubtful faith; his satisfactions of men for their sins: his justification by works, *opus operatum*, works of supererogation, merits, pardons, peregrinations, and stations: his holy water, baptising of bells, conjuring of spirits, crossing, faining, anointing, conjuring, hallowing of God's good creatures, with the superstitious opinion joined therewith: his worldly monarchy, and wicked hierarchy: his three solemn vows, with all his shavellings of sundry sorts; his erroneous and bloody decrees made at *Trent*, with all the subscribers and approvers of that cruel and bloody band, conjured against the kirk of God. And finally, we detest all his vain allegories, rites, signs and tradi-

tions, brought into the Kirk, without or against the word of God, and doctrine of this true reformed Kirk, to the which we join ourselves willingly, in doctrine, faith, religion, discipline, and use of the holy sacraments, as lively members of the same, in Christ our head: promising and swearing by the *great Name of the Lord our G O D*, That we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this Kirk, and shall defend the same, according to our vocation and power, all the days of our lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment: And seeing that many are stirred up by Satan, and that Roman Antichrist, to promise, swear, subscribe, and for a time use the holy sacraments in the Kirk deceitfully against their own consciences, minding thereby, first, under the external cloak of religion, to corrupt and subvert secretly God's true religion within the Kirk, and afterwards, when time may serve, to become open enemies and persecutors of the same, under vain hope of the Pope's dispensation, devised against the word of God, to his greater confusion, and their double condemnation in the day of the LORD JESUS.

We, therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy, and of such double dealing with God and his Kirk, protest, and call *the Searcher of all hearts* for witness, that our minds and hearts, do fully agree with this our *Confession, Promise, Oath and Subscription*; so that we are not moved with any worldly respect, but are persuaded only in our consciences, through the knowledge and love of God's true religion, printed in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, as we shall answer to him in the day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed. And because we perceive that the quietness and stability
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our Religion and Kirk, doth depend upon the safety and good behaviour of the King's majesty, upon a comfortable instrument of God's mercy, granted to this country, for the maintaining of this Kirk, and ministration of justice amongst us, we protest and promise with our hearts under the same Oath, Hand-writ, and Pains, that we shall defend his person and authority, with our goods, bodies and lives, in the defence of Christ his evangel, liberties of our country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity, against all enemies within this realm, or without, as we desire our God to be a strong and merciful defender to us in the day of our death, and coming of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; To whom with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory eternally. *Amen.*

Likeas, many acts of parliament not only in general do abrogate, annul, and rescind all laws, statutes, acts, constitutions, canons, civil or municipal, with all other ordinances and practise penalties whatsoever, made in prejudice of the true religion and professors thereof; Or, of the true kirk-discipline, jurisdiction, and freedom thereof; Or in favours of idolatry and superstition; Or of the papistical kirk: As *Act 3. Act 13. Parl. 1. Act 23. Parl. 11. Act 114. Parl. 12. K. James VI.* That Papistry and superstition may be utterly suppressed according to the intention of the acts of parliament repeated in the *5 Act, Parl. 20. K. James VI.* And to that end they ordain all Papists and priests to be punished by manifold civil and ecclesiastical pains, as adversaries to God's true religion, preached and by law established within this realm, *Act 24. Parl. 11. King James VI.* as common enemies to all Christian government, *Act 18. Parl. 16. K. James VI.* as rebels and gainstanders of our sovereign lord's authority, *Act 47. Parl. 3. K. James VI.* and as idolaters,

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Act 104. Parl. 7. K. James VI. but also in particular (by and attour the Confession of Faith) do abolish and condemn the Pope's authority and jurisdiction out of this land, and ordains the maintainers thereof to be punished, *Act 2. Parl. 1. Act 51. Parl. 3. Act 106. Parl. 7. Act 114. Parl. 12. K. James VI.* do condemn the Pope's erroneous doctrine, or any other erroneous doctrine repugnant to any of the articles of the true and Christian religion publickly preached, and by law established in this realm. And ordains the spreaders and makers of books or libels, or letters, or writs of that nature to be punished, *Act 46. Parl. 3. Act 106. Parl. 7. Act 24. Parl. 11. K. James VI.* do condemn all baptism conform to the Pope's kirk, and the idolatry of the mass, and ordains all sayers, wilful hearers, and concealers of the mass, the maintainers and resettlers of the Priests, Jesuits, trafficking Papists, to be punished without any exception or restriction, *Act 5. Parl. 1. Act 120. Parl. 12. Act 164. Parl. 13. Act 193. Parl. 14. Act 1. Parl. 19. Act 5. Parl. 20. K. James VI.* do condemn all erroneous books and writs containing erroneous doctrine against the religion presently professed, or containing superstitious rites and ceremonies papistical, whereby the people are greatly abused; and ordains the home-bringers of them to be punished, *Act 25. Parl. 11. K. James VI.* do condemn the monuments and dregs of by-gone idolatry; as going to the crosses, observing the festival days of saints, and such other superstitious and papistical rites, to the dishonour of God, contempt of true religion, and fostering of great error among the people; and ordains the users of them to be punished for the second fault as idolaters, *Act 104. Parl. 7. K. James VI.*

Likeas, many acts of parliament are conceived for maintainance of God's true and Christian religion,

on, and the purity thereof in doctrine and sacraments, of the true church of God, the liberty and freedom thereof, in her national, synodical assemblies, presbyteries, sessions, policy, discipline and jurisdiction thereof, as that purity of religion and liberty of the church was used, professed, exercised, preached and confessed according to the reformation of religion in this realm. As for instance, *The 99 Act, Parl. 7. Act 23. Parl. 11. Act 114. Parl. 12. Act 160. Parl. 13. of K. James VI.* Ratified by the 4th *Act of K. Charles.* So that the 6th *Act, Parl. 1. and 68 Act, Parl. 6. of K. James VI.* In the year of God 1579, declares the ministers of the blessed evangel, whom God of his mercy had raised up, or hereafter should raise, agreeing with them that then lived, in doctrine, and administration of the sacraments, and the people that professed Christ, as he was then offered in the evangel, and doth communicate with the holy sacraments, (as in the reformed kirks of this realm they were publickly administrate) according to the Confession of Faith, to be the true and holy kirk of Christ Jesus within this realm: And decerns and declares all and sundry, who either gainsays the word of the evangel, received and approved, as the heads of the Confession of Faith, professed in parliament, in the year of God 1560, specified also in the first parliament of *K. James VI.* and ratified in this present parliament, more particularly do specify; or that refuses the administration of the holy sacraments, as they were then ministrated, to be no members of the said Kirk within this realm, and true religion, presently professed, so long as they keep themselves so divided from the society of Christ's body: And the subsequent *Act 69, Parl. 6. of K. James VI.* declares, That there is none other face of kirk, nor other face of religion, then was presently at that time,

time, by the favour of God, established within this realm, which therefore is ever stiled, *God's true religion, Christ's true religion, the true and Christian religion, and a perfect religion*: which by manifold acts of parliament, all within this realm are bound to profess, to subscribe the articles thereof, the Confession of Faith, to recant all doctrine and errors, repugnant to any of the said articles, *Act 4. and 9. Parl. 1. Act 45. 46. 47. Parl. 3. Act 71. Parl. 6. Act 106. Parl. 7. Act 24. Parl. 11. Act 123. Parl. 12. Act 194. and 197. Parl. 14. of K. James VI.* And all magistrates, sheriffs, &c. on the one part are ordained to search, apprehend, and punish all contraveners; for instance, *Act 5. Parl. 1. Act 104. Parl. 7. Act 25. Parl. 11. K. James VI.* And that notwithstanding of the King's majesty's licence on the contrary, which are discharged and declared to be of no force, in so far as they tend in any ways, to the prejudice and hinderance of the execution of the acts of parliament against Papists and adversaries of true religion, *Act 106. Parl. 7. K. James VI.* On the other part, in the *47 Act, Parl. 3. K. James VI.* it is declared and ordained, Seeing the cause of God's true religion, and his highness's authority are so joined, as the hurt of the one is common to both: and that none shall be reputed as loyal and faithful subjects to our sovereign lord, or his authority, but be punishable as rebellers and gainstanders of the same, who shall not give their confession, and make their profession of the said true religion; and that they, who after defection, shall give the confession of their faith of new, they shall promise to continue therein in time coming, to maintain our sovereign lord's authority, and at the uttermost of their power to fortify, assist, and maintain the true preachers and professors of Christ's evangel, against whotsoever enemies and gainstanders

ers of the same: and namely (against all such of whatsoever nation, estate, or degree they be of,) that have joined, or bound themselves, or have assisted, or assists to set forward, and execute the cruel decrees of *Trent*, contrary to the true preachers and professors of God, which is repeated word by word in the article of pacification at *Perth* the 23d of *February*, 1572. approved by parliament the last of *April*, 1573, ratified in parliament 1587. and related *Act* 123. *Parl.* 12. of *K. James VI.* with this addition, that they are bound to resist all treasonable uproars and hostilities raised against the true religion, the king's majesty, and the true professors.

Likeas, all lieges are bound to maintain the king's majesty's royal person, and authority, the authority of parliaments, without the which neither any laws or lawful judicatories can be established, *Act* 130. *Act* 131. *Parl.* 8. *K. James VI.* and the subjects liberties, who ought only to live and be governed by the King's laws, the common laws of this realm, allenary, *Act* 48. *Parl.* 3. *K. James I.* *Act* 79. *Parl.* 6. *K. James IV.* repeated in the *Act* 131. *Parl.* 8. *King James VI.* which, if they be innovated or prejudged, the commission anent the union of the two kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England*, which is the sole *Act* of the 17. *Parl.* of *K. James VI.* declares, such confusion would ensue, as this realm could be no more a free monarchy, because by the fundamental laws, antient privileges, offices and liberties of this kingdom, not only the princely authority of his majesty's royal descent hath been these many ages maintained, but also the peoples security of their lands, livings, rights, offices, liberties, and dignities preserved; and therefore, for the preservation of the said true religion, laws and liberties of this kingdom,

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it is statute by the 8 Act, Parl. 1. repeated in the 99 Act, Parl. 7. ratified in the 23 Act, Parl. 11. and 114 Act, Parl. 12. of K. James VI. and 4 Act of K. Charles I. That all kings and princes at the coronation and reception of their princely authority, shall make their faithful promise, by their solemn oath, in the presence of the eternal God, That during the whole time of their lives, they shall serve the same eternal God to the uttermost of their power, according as he hath required in his most holy word, contained in the Old and New Testament. And according to the same word, shall maintain the true religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of his holy word, the due and right administration of the sacraments now received and preached within this realm, according to the Confession of Faith immediately preceeding, and shall abolish and gainstand all false religion contrary to the same, and shall rule the people committed to their charge, according to the will and command of God revealed in his foresaid word, and according to the laudable laws and constitutions received in this realm, no ways repugnant to the said will of the eternal God; and shall procure, to the utmost of their power, to the kirk of God, and whole Christian people, true and perfect peace in all time coming: and that they shall be careful to root out of their empire all hereticks, and enemies to the true worship of God, who shall be convicted by the true kirk of God, of the foresaid crimes, which was also observed by his majesty, at his coronation in *Edinburgh* 1633. as may be seen in the order of the coronation.

In obedience to the commandment of God, conform to the practice of the godly in former times, and according to the laudable example of our worthy and religious progenitors, and of many yet living

ing amongst us, which was warranted also by act of council, commanding a general band to be made and subscribed by his majesty's subjects, of all ranks, for two causes: one was, For defending of the true religion, as it was then reformed, and is expressed in the Confession of Faith above written, and a former large confession established by sundry acts of lawful general assemblies, and of parliaments, unto which it hath relation, set down in publick catechisms; and which hath been for many years, with a blessing from Heaven, preached, and professed in this kirk and kingdom, as God's undoubted truth, grounded only upon his written word. The other cause was, For maintaining the king's majesty, his person, and estate: the true worship of God and the king's authority, being so straitly joined, as that they had the same friends, and common enemies, and did stand and fall together. And finally, being convinced in our minds, and confessing with our mouths, that the present and succeeding generations in this land, are bound to keep the foresaid national oath and subscription inviolable. We Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons undersubscribing, considering divers times before, and especially at this time, the danger of the true reformed religion, of the king's honour, and of the publick peace of the kingdom: by the manifold innovations and evils generally continued, and particularly mentioned in our late supplications, complaints, and protestations, do hereby profess, and before God, his angels, and the world solemnly declare, That, with our whole hearts we agree and resolve, all the days of our life, constantly to adhere unto, and to defend the foresaid true religion, and (forbearing the practice of all novations, already introduced in the matters of the worship of God,

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or approbation of the corruptions of the public government of the kirk, or civil places and power of kirk-men, till they be tried and allowed in free assemblies, and in parliaments) to labour by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the gospel, as it was established and professed before the foresaid novations: and because, after due examination, we plainly perceive, and undoubtedly believe, that the innovations and evils contained in our supplications, complaints, and protestations have no warrant of the word of *God*, are contrary to the articles of the foresaid confessions, to the intention and meaning of the blessed reformers of religion in this land, to the above written acts of parliament, and do sensibly tend to the re-establishing of the popish religion and tyranny, and to the subversion and ruin of the true reformed religion, and of our liberties, laws and estates; We also declare, That the foresaid confessions are to be interpreted, and ought to be understood of the foresaid novations and evils, no less than if every one of them had been expressed in the foresaid confessions, and that we are obliged to detest and abhor them, amongst other particular heads of Papistry abjured therein. And therefore, from the knowledge and consciences, of our duty to *God*, to our king and country, without any worldly respect or inducement, so far as human infirmity will suffer, wishing a further measure of the grace of *God* for this effect, We promise, and swear by the *great name of the Lord our God*, to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion; that we shall defend the same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the uttermost of that power, that *God* hath put in our hands, all the days of our life: And, in like manner, with the same heart, we declare before
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God and men, That we have no intention nor desire, to attempt any thing, that may turn to the dishonour of God, or to the diminution of the King's greatness and authority: But on the contrary, we promise and swear, That we shall, to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread sovereign, the King's majesty, his person, and authority, in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true religion, liberties and laws of the kingdom: As also to the mutual defence and assistance, every one of us of another in the same cause, of maintaining the true religion, and his majesty's authority, with our best counsel, our bodics, means, and whole power, against all sorts of persons whatsoever. So that whatsoever shall be done to the least of us for that cause, shall be taken as done to us all in general, and to every one of us in particular. And that we shall neither directly nor indirectly suffer ourselves to be divided or withdrawn by whatsoever suggestion, allurement, or terror, from this blessed and loyal conjunction, nor shall cast in any let or impediment, that may stay or hinder any such resolution, as by common consent shall be found to conduce for so good ends. But on the contrary, shall, by all lawful means, labour to further and promote the same; and if any such dangerous and divisive motion be made to us by word or writ, we, and every one of us, shall either suppress it, or if need be shall incontinent make the same known, that it may be timeously obviated: Neither do we fear the foul aspersions of rebellion, combination, or what else our adversaries from their craft and malice would put upon us, seeing what we do is so well warranted, and ariseth from an unfeigned desire to maintain the true worship of God, the majesty of our King, and the peace of the kingdom, for the

common happiness of ourselves, and the posterity. And because we cannot look for a blessing from God upon our proceedings, except with our profession and subscription we join such a life and conversation, as becometh Christians, who have renewed their covenant with God: We, therefore, faithfully promise, for ourselves, our followers, and all others under us, both in public, in our particular families, and personal carriage, to endeavour to keep ourselves within the bounds of Christian liberty, and to be good examples to others, of all godliness, soberness, and righteousness, and of every duty we owe to God and man; And that this our union and conjunction may be observed without violation, we call the living God, the searcher of all hearts to witness, who knoweth this to be our sincere desire, and unfeigned resolution, as we shall answer to JESUS CHRIST, in the great day, and under the pain of God's everlasting wrath; and of infamy, and loss of all honour and respect in this world; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with a happy success, that religion and righteousness may flourish in the land, to the glory of God, the honour of the King, and peace and comfort of us all. In witness whereof we have subscribed with our hands all the premisses, &c.

The article of this Covenant, which was at the first subscription, referred to the determination of the General Assembly, being determined, and thereby the five articles of *Perth*, the government of the Kirk by Bishops, the civil, places and power of kirkmen, upon the reasons and grounds contained in the acts of the General Assembly, declared to be unlawful within the Kirk, we subscribe according to the determination foresaid.

A Solemn League and Covenant,

For Reformation, and defence of Religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland.

WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the gospel, and Commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of *Scotland, England and Ireland*, by the providence of God living under one King, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the King's majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included: And calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts and practices of the enemies of God against the true religion and professors thereof, in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion, and how much their rage, power and presumption are of late, and at this time increased and exercised; whereof the deplorable state of the church and kingdom of *Ireland*, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of *England*, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of *Scotland* are present and public testimonies: We have now at last (after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestation and suffering) for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example

of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and Solemn League and Covenant: Wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do *swear*,

1. That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of *Scotland*, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; And shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship and catechising; that we and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love; and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is, church-government by Arch-bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness; lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues: and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three kingdoms.

3. We shall with the same sincerity, reality and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour

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with our estates and lives mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms; and to preserve and defend the King's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and liberties of the kingdoms; that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness.

4. We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be incendiaries, Malignants, or evil instruments, by hindring the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction, or parties amongst the people, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is, by the good providence of God, granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded, and settled by both parliaments; We shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity; and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent article.

6. We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in

the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the king; but shall, all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and, what we are not able ourselves to suppress and overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: all which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins, and provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; we profess and declare before God, and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms, especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives; which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us: And our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under our power and charge, both in publick and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation; that the

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Lord may turn away his wrath, and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord, to strengthen us by his holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires, and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches, groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of Antichristian tyranny; to join in the same, or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms, and commonwealths.

A Solemn Acknowledgment of public Sins and Breaches of the Covenant;

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A Solemn engagement to all the duties contained therein, namely those which do in a more special way relate unto the dangers of these times; Anno 1648.

WE Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts within this kingdom, by the good hand of God upon us, taking into serious consideration the many sad afflictions and deep distresses, wherewith we have been exercised for a long time past, and

that the land, after it hath been sore wasted with the sword and pestilence, and threatened with famine, and that shame and contempt hath been poured out from the Lord against many thousands of our nation, who did in a sinful way make war upon the kingdom of *England*, contrary to the testimony of his servants, and desires of his people; and that the remnant of that army returning to this land, have spoiled and oppressed many of our brethren, and that the malignant party is still numerous, and, retaining their former principles, wait for an opportunity to raise a new and dangerous war, not only unto the rending of the bowels of this kingdom, but unto the dividing of us from *England*, and overturning of the work of God in all the three kingdoms; and considering also, that a cloud of calamities doth still hang over our heads, and threaten us with sad things to come, we cannot but look upon these things as from the Lord, who is righteous in all his ways, feeding us with the bread of tears, and making us to drink the waters of affliction, until we be taught to know how evil and bitter a thing it is, to depart away from him, by breaking the oath and covenant, which we have made with him; and that we may be humbled before him by confessing our sin, and forsaking the evil of our way,

Therefore, being pressed with so great necessities and straits, and warranted by the word of God, and having the example of God's people of old, who in the time of their troubles, and when they were to seek delivery and a right way for themselves, that the Lord might be with them to prosper them, did humble themselves, before him, and make a free and particular confession of the sins of their princes, their rulers, their captains, their
priests

priests and their people, and did engage themselves to do no more so, but to reform their ways, and be stedfast in his covenant; and remembering the practice of our predecessors in the year 1596, wherein the general assembly, and all the kirk-judicatories, with the concurrence of many of the nobility, gentry, and burgesses, did with many tears acknowledge before God the breach of the National Covenant, and engaged themselves to a reformation, even as our predecessors and theirs had before done in the general assembly and convention of estates in the year 1567; and perceiving that this duty, when gone about out of conscience and in sincerity, hath always been attended with a reviving out of troubles, and with a blessing and success from Heaven; we do humbly and sincerely in his sight, who is the searcher of hearts, acknowledge the many sins and great transgressions of the land; We have done wickedly, our kings, our princes, our nobles, our judges, our officers, our teachers, and our people. Albeit the Lord hath long and clearly spoken unto us, we have not hearkened to his voice; albeit he hath followed us with tender mercies, we have not been allured to wait upon him and walk in his way; and though he hath stricken us, yet we have not grieved; nay, though he hath consumed us, we have refused to receive correction; we have not remembered to render unto the Lord according to his goodness, and according to our own vows and promises, but have gone away backward by a continued course of backsliding, and have broken all the articles of that Solemn League and Covenant which we swore before God, angels and men.

Albeit there be in the land many of all ranks, who be for a testimony unto the truth, and for a name of joy and praise unto the Lord, by living godly,
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studying to keep their garments pure, and being stedfast in the covenant and cause of God; yet we have reason to acknowledge that most of us have not endeavoured with that reality, sincerity and constancy, that did become us, to preserve the work of reformation in the Kirk of *Scotland*; many have satisfied themselves with the purity of the ordinances, neglecting the power thereof; yea, some have turned aside to crooked ways destructive to both. The prophane, loose and insolent carriage of many in our armies, who went to the assistance of our *brethren* in *England*, and the tamperings and unstraight dealing of some of our commissioners and others of our nation in *London*, the *Isle of Wight*, and other places of that kingdom, have proved great lets to the work of reformation, and settling of kirk-government there, whereby error and schism in that land have been encreased, and sectaries hardened in their way. We have been so far from endeavouring the extirpation of profaneness, and what is contrary to the power of godliness, that profanity hath been much winked at, and prophane persons much countenanced, and many times employed, until iniquity and ungodliness hath gone over the face of the land as a flood; nay, sufficient care hath not been had, to separate betwixt the precious and the vile, by debarring from the sacrament all ignorant and scandalous persons, according to the ordinances of this kirk.

Neither have the priviledges of the parliaments and liberties of the subject been duly tendered, but some amongst ourselves have laboured to put into the hands of our king an arbitrary and unlimited power destructive to both; and many of us have been accessory of late to those means and ways, whereby the freedom and priviledges of parliaments have been encroached upon, and the subjects oppressed

pressed in their consciences, persons and estates: neither hath it been our care to avoid these things, which might harden the king in his evil way; but upon the contrary he hath not only been permitted; but many of us have been instrumental to make him exercise his power in many things tending to the prejudice of religion and of the covenant, and of the peace and safety of these kingdoms; which is so far from the right way of preserving his majesty's person and authority, that it cannot but provoke the Lord against him unto the hazard of both; nay, under a pretence of relieving and doing for the king, whilst he refuses to do what was necessary for the house of God, some have ranverfed and violated most of all the articles of the covenant.

Our own consciences within, and God's judgments upon us without, do convince us, of the manifold wilful renewed breaches of that article, which concerneth the discovery and punishment of malignants, whose crimes have not only been connived at, but dispensed with and pardoned, and themselves received into intimate fellowship with ourselves, and entrusted with our councils, admitted unto our parliaments, and put in places of power and authority for managing the publick affairs of the kingdom, whereby in God's justice they got at last into their hands the whole power and strength of the kingdom, both in judicatories and armies, and did employ the same unto the enacting and prosecuting an unlawful engagement in war against the kingdom of *England*, notwithstanding of the dissent of many considerable members of parliament, who had given constant proof of their integrity in the cause from the beginning, of many faithful testimonies and free warnings of the servants of God, of the supplications of many synods, presbyteries, and shires, and of the declarations of the general assembly

bly and their commissioners to the contrary: which engagement, as it hath been the cause of much sin, so also of much misery and calamity unto this land; and holds forth to us the grievousness of our sin of complying with malignants, in the greatness of our judgment, that we may be taught, never to split again upon the same rock upon which the Lord hath set so remarkable a beacon. . And after all that is come to pass unto us, because of this our trespass, and after that grace hath been shewed unto us from the Lord our God, by breaking these mens yoke from off our necks, and putting us again into a capacity to act for the good of religion, our own safety, and the peace and safety of this kingdom, should we again break his commandment and covenant, by joining once more with the people of these abominations, and taking into our bosom those serpents which had formerly stung us almost unto death; this, as it would argue great madness and folly upon our part, so no doubt, if it be not avoided, will provoke the Lord against us, to consume us, until there be no remnant nor escaping in the land.

And albeit the peace and union betwixt the kingdoms be a great blessing of God to both, and a bond which we are obliged to preserve unviolated, and to endeavour that justice may be done upon the opposers thereof; yet some in this land, who have come under the bond of the covenant, have made it their great study, how to dissolve this union, and few or no endeavours have been used by any of us for punishing of such.

We have suffered many of our brethren, in several parts of the land, to be oppressed by the common enemy, without compassion or relief; there hath been great murmuring and repining because of expense of means and pains in doing of our duty; many by persuation or terror have suffered themselves

to be divided and withdrawn to make defection to the contrary part; many have turned off to a detestable indifferency and neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God and the good of these kingdoms; nay, many have made it their study to walk so, as they might comply with all times, and all the revolutions thereof. It hath not been our care to countenance, encourage, intrust and employ such only, as from their hearts did affect and mind God's work; but the hearts of such many times have been discouraged, and their hands weakened, their sufferings neglected, and themselves slighted; and many who were once open enemies, and always secret underminers, countenanced and employed; nay, even those who had been looked upon as incendiaries, and upon whom the Lord had set marks of desperate malignancy, falsehood and deceit, were brought in, as fit to manage publick affairs: many have been the lets and impediments, that have been cast in the way, to retard and obstruct the Lord's work, and some have kept secret, what of themselves they were not able to suppress and overcome.

Besides these, and many other breaches of the articles of the covenant, in the matter thereof, which it concerneth every one of us to search out and acknowledge before the Lord, as we would wish his wrath to be turned away from us; so have many of us failed exceedingly in the manner of our following and pursuing the duties contained therein; not only seeking great things for ourselves, and mixing of private interests and ends concerning ourselves, and friends, and followers, with those things which concern the publick good; but many times preferring such to the honour of God, and good of his cause, and retarding God's work, until we might carry
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along with us our own interests and designs. It hath been our way to trust in the means, and to rely upon the arm of flesh for success, albeit the Lord hath many times made us meet with disappointment therein, and stained the pride of all our glory, by blasting every carnal confidence unto us. We have followed, for the most part, the counsels of flesh and blood, and walked more by the rules of policy, than piety; and have hearkened more unto men, than unto God.

Although we made solemn public profession before the world, of our unfeigned desires to be humbled before the Lord, for our own sins, and the sins of these kingdoms; especially for our undervaluing of the inestimable benefit of the gospel, and that we have not laboured for the power thereof, and received Christ into our hearts, and walked worthy of him in our lives; and of our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour, for ourselves, and all others under our power and charge, both in public and private, in all duties which we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another, in the example of a real reformation; that the Lord might turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these kirks and kingdoms in truth and peace: Yet we have refused to be reformed, and have walked proudly and obstinately against the Lord, not valuing his gospel, nor submitting ourselves unto the obedience thereof, nor seeking after Christ, nor studying to honour him in the excellency of his person, nor employ him in the virtue of his offices, not making conscience of public ordinances, nor of private nor secret duties; nor studying to edify one another in love. The ignorance of God and of his son Jesus Christ prevails exceedingly in the land; the greatest part of masters of families, amongst

Noble

Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes, and Commons, neglect to ſeek God in their families; and to endeavour the reformation thereof; and albeit it hath been much preſſed, yet few of our nobles, and great ones, ever to this day, could be perſuaded to perform family-duties themſelves, and in their own perſons; which makes ſo neceſſary and uſeful a duty to be miſregarded by others of inferior rank: Nay, many of the Nobility, Gentry, and Burrows, who ſhould have been examples of godlineſs and ſober walking unto others, have been ring-leaders of exceſs and rioting. Albeit we be the Lord's people, engaged to him in a ſolemn way; yet, to this day, we have not made it our ſtudy, that judicatories and armies ſhould conſiſt of, and places of power and truſt be filled with men of a blameleſs and Chriſtian converſation, and of known integrity, and approven fidelity, affection and zeal unto the cauſe of God; but not only thoſe who have been neutral and indifferent, but diſaffected and malignant, and others who have been profane and ſcandalous, have been intruſted: By which it hath come to paſs, that judicatories have been the ſeats of injuſtice and iniquity; and many in our armies, by their miſcarriages, have become our plague, unto the great prejudice of the cauſe of God, the great ſcandal of the goſpel, and the great increaſe of looſeneſs and profanity throughout all the land. It were impoſſible to reckon upon all the abominations of the land; but the blaſpheming of the name of God, ſwearing by the creatures, profanation of the Lord's day, uncleanneſs, drunkenneſs, exceſs and rioting, vanity of apparel, lying and deceit, railing and curſing, arbitrary and uncontrouled oppreſſion, and grinding of the faces of the poor by landlords, and others in place and power, are become ordinary and common ſins: And, beſides all theſe

these things, there be many other transgressions, whereof the lands wherein we live are guilty. All which we desire to acknowledge, and to be humbled for, that the world may bear witness with us, that righteousness belongeth unto God, and shame and confusion of face unto us, as appears this day.

And because it is needful for those who find mercy, not only to confess, but also to forsake their sin; therefore, that the reality and sincerity of our repentance may appear, we do resolve and solemnly engage ourselves, before the Lord, carefully to avoid, for the time to come, all these offences, whereof we have now made solemn publick acknowledgment, and all the snares and tentations which tend thereunto: and to testify the integrity of our resolution therein, and that we may be better enabled in the power of the Lord's strength, to perform the same, we do again renew our Solemn League and Covenant, promising hereafter to make conscience of all the duties, whereunto we are obliged, in all the heads and articles thereof, particularly of these which follow.

1. Because religion is of all things the most excellent and precious, the advancing and promoting the power thereof against all ungodliness and profanity, the securing and preserving the purity thereof against all error, heresy and schism; and namely, *Independency, Anabaptism, Antinomianism, Arminianism, and Socinianism, Familism, Libertinism, Scepticism, and Erastianism*, and the carrying on the work of uniformity shall be studied and endeavoured by us, before all the worldly interests, whether concerning the king, ourselves, or any other whatsoever. 2. Because many have of late laboured to supplant the liberties of the kirk, we shall maintain and defend the Kirk of *Scotland*, in all her liberties and priviledges, against all who shall oppose

or undermine the same, or encroach thereupon under any pretext whatsoever. 3. We shall vindicate and maintain the liberties of the subjects, in all these things which concern their consciences, persons and estates. 4. We shall carefully maintain and defend the union betwixt the kingdoms, and avoid every thing that may weaken the same, or involve us in any measure of accession unto the guilt of those who have invaded the kingdom of *England*. 5. As we have been always loyal to our king, so we shall still endeavour to give unto God, that which is God's, and to *Cæsar* the things which are *Cæsar's*. 6. We shall be so far from conniving at, complying with, or countenancing of malignancy, injustice, iniquity, prophanity and impiety, that we shall not only avoid, and discountenance those things, and cherish and encourage these persons, who are zealous for the cause of God, and walk according to the gospel; but also shall take a more effectual course than heretofore in our respective places and callings, for punishing and suppressing these evils, and faithfully endeavour, that the best and fittest remedies may be applied for taking away the causes thereof, and advancing the knowledge of God, and holiness and righteousness in the land. And therefore in the last place, as we shall earnestly pray unto God, that he would give us *able men fearing God, men of truth and hating covetousness*, to judge and bear charge among his people, so we shall according to our places and callings endeavour, that judicatories and all places of power and trust, both in kirk and state, may consist of, and be filled with such men as are of known good affection to the cause of God, and of a blameless and Christian conversation.

And because there be many, who heretofore have not made conscience of the oath of God, but some
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through fear, others by perswasion, and upon base ends and human interests, have entered thereinto, who have afterwards discovered themselves to have dealt deceitfully with the Lord, in swearing falsely by his name, Therefore we, who do now renew our covenant in reference to these duties, and all other duties contained therein, do, in the sight of him who is the searcher of hearts, solemnly profess, that it is not upon any politick advantage, or private interest or by end, or because of any terror or perswasion from men, or hypocritically and deceitfully, that we do again take upon us the oath of God, but honestly and sincerely from the sense of our duty, and that therefore denying ourselves and our own things, and laying aside all self-interest and ends, we shall above all things seek the honour of God, the good of his cause, and the wealth of his people; and that forsaking the councils of flesh and blood, and not leaning upon carnal confidences, we shall depend upon the Lord, walk by the rule of his word, and hearken to the voice of his servants: in all which professing our own weakness, we do earnestly pray to God, who is the Father of mercies, through his Son Jesus Christ, to be merciful unto us, and to enable us by the power of his might, that we may do our duty to the praise of his grace in the churches. *Amen.*

The occasion of this *Acknowledgment* and *Engagement* was this;

THE commission of the General Assembly 1648, considering the many breaches of the *Solemn League and Covenant* (and particularly by the engagement in war that year against *England*) the slackness of many in following the duties therein, and that many, (being under age when it was first sworn) had not been received into the same, did, by their act, *October* 6th, ordain it to be renewed with this *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins* and breaches, and *Engagement to Duties*, and to that effect, appointed two solemn fasts to be kept in all the congregations of the land, for the causes contained in the *Acknowledgment of Sins*, and that intimation thereof should be made to the people the sabbath before, and that the *Covenant*, together with the former *Acknowledgment of Sins* and *Engagement to Duties*, should be read publickly to the people upon the day of the intimation, and the last fast day, when the covenant was to be sworn. This resolution of the *Commission*, upon the same grounds, was unanimously approved by the *Committee of Estates* then sitting, and by their act *October* 14th, ordained to be put in execution, in all things according to the directions of the *Commission*: and accordingly in the month of *December*, it was for the second time sworn in all the congregations of the kingdom, upon the same day, (except where vacancy, or the ministers under scandal or process, did occasion a delay till another day, that the place was supplied by another minister)

with great solemnity and such mixture of joy and sorrow, as became people entering in covenant with the Lord; and was thereafter subscribed by all the swearers. Afterward, the *Parliament* convening, in *Jan.* 1649, by their very first *act*, except the election of their president, upon the same grounds, resolved to keep a fast by themselves, for the causes contained in the acknowledgement, and to renew the covenant according to the order of the *Commission*, which was also most solemnly done. And last of all the General Assembly 1649, by their *act*, *July* 7, did unanimously and expressly ratify the proceedings of the *Commission*, as to the Acknowledgment of Sins, Engagement to Duties, the fasts, and renewing of the Covenant by swearing and subscribing thereof. Hence, as the Covenant itself, so the *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties* became national, authorized by the supreme judicatures of church and state, and are still obliging by oath. *Oh! that the Lord had kept these things in the imagination of the thought of our hearts for ever.*

A
True and Short DEDUCTION
OF THE
WRESTLINGS
OF THE
CHURCH of SCOTLAND
FOR THE
KINGDOM of JESUS CHRIST,

From the Beginning of the Reformation of Religion, unto the Year 1667.

AFTER all these great and glorious things, which the Lord in his love, mercy and faithfulness hath wrought for this land, and in his holiness and righteousness hath declared amongst us; these clear and powerful manifestations of his blessed truth, which have so brightly shined forth, to the glory, beauty and praise of this whole nation: after these many most sacred and solemn engagements, whereby, in the evidence and power of the same truth, all ranks and degrees, from the king even to the meanest, became, and are still bound and devoted to the Most High and Holy, our covenanted God, and to our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, (who alone is king in Zion, and of all saints, and whose are all the kings and kingdoms of the earth,) for the advancement of his glory and kingdom, and for the owning and maintaining of his glorious word and

precious truth, which is all our felicity and joy; and after all this horrid apostacy and rebellion, whereby the same wretched nation, in the same generation, and almost in the same persons, neither from the conviction of any pretended reason or conscience, nor from any solid persuasion of the very advantage designed, but in the manifest spirit of wickedness and violence have forgotten, despised and blasphemed the former power and glory; rebelled against God, by breaking the holy covenant; rejected our Lord and Saviour; overturned the work of his own blessed Spirit, and arm; abrogated and rescinded all these righteous laws and ordinances, whereby it was established; and by most unjust, arbitrary and cruel laws and practices, have endeavoured the rebuilding and promoting of the kingdom of darkness and Antichrist, and precipitating of all men, either into the same condemnation with themselves, or utter ruin and extermination; after, we say, all these things, which the Lord hath thus wrought and permitted in the midst of us, neither the discouragement and fainting of some, nor the unsuccessfulness of the more honest and zealous endeavours of others, nor yet our silence hitherto, is greatly to be wondered at. For whose eyes can behold all these things, without dimness and affecting of the heart? and whose heart can consider them, without astonishment and horror, if not stupifaction or discouragement? How little wonder is it, that every visage (suppose of the fairest Nazarite) be blacker then a coal? that every eye run down with waters? And that the souls of many refuse to be comforted, and neither do, nor dare rejoice as other people? when not only, by their going a whoreing from the Lord, their daily bread is become the bread of adversity and their waters of affliction, and when the famine

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of the word of the Lord is such, that tho' they wander from sea to sea seeking it, they cannot find it; but also the Comforter that should relieve their souls, is far from them; and either covereth himself with a cloud, that their prayers cannot pass through, or then answereth them only by terrible things in righteousness; how can they, who by their vanities have moved the holy God to jealousy, and therefore have provoked their Rock to sell them, stand before their enemies, or chase a thousand and put ten thousand to flight? And although that we should plead with our mother, with our rulers, and with all other ranks of persons within the land, that they would put away their whoredoms out of their sight, and their adulteries from between their breasts; yet what hope is there, that words shall prevail, where the power and glory of the Most High is contemned? Or that reason shall be heard, where the counsel of God is rejected?

Here indeed is matter of wonder and praise, even the long-suffering of the Lord, (which is salvation) and the mercy and faithfulness of our God, who hath not only hitherto preserved a remnant, even a holy seed, which shall be the substance of our land; but (after this late sudden and astonishing stroke of his indignation, which seemed to presage no less, then the woful overturning of this sinking church into the depth of all darkness, and dreadful overthrow of this whole land and nation, in the consummation of his fierce anger, to have been poured out in our desolation) hath made light and salvation to arise, and glory and praise to spring forth, in making his grace more manifest, and commending and asserting his work and covenant, more in the suffering and death of his faithful servants and witnesses, than in all the prosperity and

victories, which formerly he vouchsafed upon us, O! blessed and exalted be his most holy name and abundant grace, who for the wicked and momentany rejoicing of our adversaries, hath given to his people, such sweet consolations and exuberant praise; and from the depths of our present distresses, and amidst the fears of so imminent and great judgments, hath, instead of an apology before the world, put a song of salvation in our mouth, that, as well to testify for the Lord against the backsliders, as for the comfort and consolation of all, who love and wait for his salvation, we may call the heavens to hear, and the earth to give ear, that we may publish the name of the Lord, and ascribe greatness to our God, whose work is perfect, and all his ways judgment; a God of truth, and without iniquity, just and right is he. We have corrupted ourselves, our spot is not the spot of his children, we are a perverse and crooked generation: do we thus requite the Lord, O foolish people and unwise? Yet is not he our father that hath bought us? Hath not he made us and established us? Let us then remember the days of old, when the Most High did visit us, and the Lord became our God, and we became his people and inheritance. This is the testimony of his dying witnesses, this is the voice of his present dispensations. We will therefore call to mind the years of the right hand of the Most High, and the wondrous works of the Lord, which He alone did work in our land; we will also declare our manifold engagements, and our most solemn and sacred covenants, with and to our God; that the Lord's loving kindness may be made known; that the innocency, strength and joy of his servants may appear; that the glory of all his righteous judgments, which are either already come upon us, or which

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we have reason to fear, may be made manifest; that wickedness may stop its mouth; and that all the enemies of the Lord may be confounded.

It is not here intended to resume these debates, which, as the adversaries have formerly moved, and pertinaciously maintained against the work of God, and almost against every passage and transaction thereof; so have the lovers and owners of it, abundantly satisfied, and the Lord himself determined with that power and evidence, that the conversion of some, and conviction of almost all, and even of its most desperate opposers, is not the smallest part of its glory: but seeing the party that now prevaieth, hath disdained that method, and only by plain force and violence, in the most gross and desperate rebellion, blasphemy and perfidy against God and his cause, and the highest and most determined contempt and misregard of all good conscience and sacred oaths, that ever the sun beheld, hath carried on, and advanced this present apostacy and defection, under which all the Godly do mourn, and the land perisheth: we shall only here endeavour, the sincere and candid representation of these things, which, as they were once the glory of the Lord, and joy of his people in this poor nation, so are they now the testimony and triumph of his witnesses, and the patience and hope of all his sufferers, and may be to the full satisfaction of all, who shall hear of these late and present troubles, wherewith the Lord doth exercise us, and will undoubtedly in the end prove, either the exaltation and praise, or the desolation and perpetual confusion of BACKSLIDEN SCOTLAND.

When Scotland, through the usurpation of the Roman Antichrist, and the contagion of his abominations, and through the pride, lust and tyranny of
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Prelacy, (the very root and strength, of that kingdom of wickedness) had fallen into that gross and black darkness of ignorance and superstition, and into these strong delusions, (wherewith the Lord as he hath threatned, so hath he ever infallibly plagued that Antichristian course) and for many hundredth years had lien involved therein; it pleased the Lord in his wonderful mercy and free love, to cause the glorious light of the everlasting gospel again to arise and shine forth amongst us: which, as it is ever best witnessed by its own power and purity; so through the power and wisdom of God alone, even by the weakness of very mean instruments, in the midst of the flames of fiery persecutions, and against the rage and fury of the Devil, and of all the powers of Hell, was this work advanced and effectuated: as the records of these times from 1494, untill about the year 1560, do plainly discover. During which period of time, these things are very observable.

First, That where and whenever the light and truth of God did discover and testify against the corruptions, errors, idolatry, and superstitions of Popery, in the same manner it testified and declared, that the Pope's usurped tyranny, and the pride idleness and domination of the wicked Prelates, were chiefly the authors and maintainers thereof.

Secondly, That such as the Lord did from time to time call to, and send forth for the work of the ministry, did walk therein, with the same painfulness, poverty, simplicity, humility, and equality, which the holy command and practices of our blessed Lord and his apostles, do so constantly commend: hence it is, that, in so far as this point could fall under the enquiry of these times, it is clearly held out, that they acknowledge no officer in God's house, superior to a preaching minister:
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and according to the standard of this office, did they try, reject, and crave the reformation, of exorbitant Prelacy. As the examinations and testimonies of the faithful in these days do witness.

Thirdly, That as the love of God and his blessed truth, and the precepts, promise and presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, did enable unto all patience with joy, such as, by the call of a clear and necessary providence, the Lord set forth to be his witnesses; (who, for the love and testimony of Jesus, cheerfully embraced the fire and faggot) so when the Lord did multiply the faithful to a reasonable capacity, they were so far from resigning themselves, and abandoning that first, and most just privilege of *self-defence*, to the arbitrament even of the lawful powers, and of that authority which they did acknowledge, that they not only owned it, and stood to it; but did account themselves so much the more obliged to their own preservation, and esteemed the same so much the more endeared to them, that the setting forth of the glory of God, in the maintainance of the blessed gospel, and the propagation and continuance thereof, seemed so necessarily to depend thereon: which endeavours, they did also further extend, in the bowels and bonds of brotherly affection in Christ Jesus, unto the same duty of defence and *assistance* to all his members. And in effect, if their principles and practices be well considered, it will appear, that, as when God called them to suffering, they loved not their lives unto death, that they might witness a good confession; so when they attained to any probability of *acting*, they thought themselves indispensibly obliged, upon their uttermost hazard, to defend the gospel which they had received, and to suppress all superstition and idolatry contrary thereto, although the motive of self-defence had
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not been conjoined: and it will also appear, that the necessity of convocations and combinations (though not only without, but even against authority; yet being in order to such necessary and just ends) did sufficiently warrant them before God and all men, from the breach of any law or act then standing against the same, wherewith they might have been charged. For verification hereof, tho' the whole course of our reformation be an unquestionable evidence, yet let the instances of their first appearance be observed, wherein both the motives, actors, and all other circumstances, do more clearly and beyond all cavillation hold out, that only the love and zeal of God in the same spirit, in which they had so constantly suffered, did stir them up, from the pure and vive sense of their indispensable duty and certain priviledge, against all opposition whatsoever, to own and set themselves for the defence of the gospel, and the true ministers thereof. The passage is thus,

In or about the year 1555, the Queen, by the instigation of the Prelates, (perceiving the increase of the Protestants, and fearing some inward distraction, during the wars then with *England*, if she should fall upon a more rigorous and general course) did cause all the preachers to be summoned: whereupon the body, and generality of the whole Protestants, resolved to keep the diet. But the Bishops apprehending the hazard, did procure that they should be commanded instantly to the borders: nevertheless God had so provided, that upon the same day the west-land quarter returned from it; which consisting of many faithful men, so soon as they understood the matter, they repaired to the Queen, and plainly in the hearing of the Prelates did charge them with the cruel device intended, and certified her of their resolution, both to oppose it, and defend

defend their brethren to their uttermost; and ceased not, until that she was moved to discharge the citation.

Thereafter in the year 1557, they entered into a covenant of constant mutual defence of the gospel, their ministers, and themselves, against all their adversaries, in these words, *We perceiving how Satan in his members, the Antichrists of our time, cruelly do rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the gospel of Christ, and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in him: The which our duty being well considered, We do promise, before the Majesty of God, and his congregation, That we (by his grace) shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God, and his congregation: And shall labour according to our power, to have faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them; the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, according to our whole powers, and waging of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power, that doth intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid congregation. Unto the which holy word, and congregation, we do join us; and so do forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof. And moreover, shall declare ourselves manifest enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to this congregation, by our subscription to these presents. At Edinburgh the third day of December, Anno 1557, God called to witness.*

Likeas, in the year 1559, being again necessitated to assemble for, and stand to the defence of the
gospel

gospel and themselves, at *Perth*, they renewed and enlarged the same engagement, according to the good hand and Spirit of God upon his servants, in these words, *At Perth the last day of May, the year of God 1559. the congregations of the West Country, with the congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus; Mearns and Montrose, being convened in the town of Perth, in the name of Jesus Christ, for setting forth of his glory, understanding nothing more necessary for the same, than to keep a constant amity, unity and fellowship together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bound and obliged in the presence of God, to concur and assist together in doing all things required of God in his scripture, that may be to his glory; and at their whole powers to destroy and put away all things that doth dishonour to his name, so that God may be truly and purely worshipped. And in case that any trouble be intended against the said congregation, or any part or member thereof, the whole congregation shall concur, assist and convene together, to the defence of the same congregation or person troubled: And shall not spare labours, goods, substance, bodies and lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole congregation, and every member thereof, against whatsoever person shall intend the said trouble for cause of religion, or any other cause depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause.*

And again, in the month of *August*, the same year, after having sustained and valiantly resisted a second assault, both of the wicked Prelates and of their other violent adversaries; by a third band and oath they added a further caution to their former engagements, to the effect that in so just and
holy

holy a cause, they might never by force or fraud be thereafter fainted or divided.

And lastly in *April, Anno 1560*, they engaged themselves in a fourth bond in these words, *We whose names are underwritten, have promised and obliged ourselves faithfully in the presence of God, and by these presents do promise, that we together in general, and every one of us in special by himself, with our bodies, goods and friends, and all that we can do, shall set forward the reformation of religion, according to God's word, and procure by all means possible that the truth of God's word, may have free passage within this realm, with due administration of sacraments, and all things depending upon the said word——That we shall each one with another, all of us, effectually concur, join in one, take and hold one plain part for the——and recovery of our ancient freedom, liberties,——that we may be ruled by the laws and custom of the country.——Again, that we shall tender the common cause, as if it were the cause of every one of us in particular; and that the causes of every one of us now joined together, being lawful and honest, shall be all our cause in general; and that he that is enemy to the cause foresaid, shall be enemy to us all in so far.——*

We have superadded these instances (as we might have done two or three more) to the first proposed, because of their great resemblance, since there can be nothing more manifest, than that the same provocations, the same spirit, the same principles, and the same design, did most uniformly influence all these transactions. Now, seeing that both the occasion, actors, aim, and end of the first action, and especially the observable providence of God, that without all contrivance of man did overrule it, do clearly purge it of any intended rebellion or other wickedness; certainly to affirm, that all
these

these things were nevertheless acted in, and by a rebellious spirit, must be a sin, at least next unto that of high despite and blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, and Spirit of grace, by whose power alone this blessed work was effectuated: neither doth the Arch-bishop himself, tho' our arch-adversary in this our present cause, and though he knew that the same doth infallibly either stand, or fall upon the same principles and grounds with these cases now under consideration, proceed any further in his censure of these courses and practices; than to disprove them as violent and disorderly. There is one thing further, which is also before touched, that the instances above adduced, especially the first, both for the meanness of its actors, the unpremeditated plainness of its manner, and the singleness, and purity of its end, doth most evidently make out, *viz.* that as these men of God, by their small and improbable appearance, did as much witness their unfeigned love of the truth, and zeal of his glory, in the manifest contempt and hazard of their lives and fortunes, as when under the dispensation and call of another providence, they did patiently and chearfully, upon the same motives, lay down their lives, and suffer the loss of all things; so the end of their undertaking, was not only their own just and necessary defence, which in such an apparent danger, might rather seem to be abandoned than intended, but above all things, the maintenance and defence of that blessed evangel, which was dearer to them than all other interests whatsoever. We know our great adversaries, who for the gain and pleasures of this life, (what then would they not do for the preservation of life itself?) have often renounced, and would again renounce all conscience, allegiance and truth; and who by their detestable flattery, in denying the lawfulness of

self-

self-defence, (although in effect *self* be their only idol) and pretending a feigned affection, and a limited submission without reserve, do only court the powers, for the advancing of these interests, which they seem to relinquish: as the revolutions of the world have frequently declared their practices, in prejudice both of religion and royalty, and have often resolved both their practices and principles, into that one devilish position, the first, yea only fixed rule of their religion, *Skin for skin, yea all that a man hath will he give for his life*; these, we say, are not curious to enquire into this distinction; yet, seeing they leave nothing unessayed whereby to promote their design, and therefore, do often avail from such advantages as the work of God afterwards obtained, and particularly the concurrence of the peers and *primores regni*; and from the defect thereof in the first appearances, would infer the unlawfulness of the same, especially in order to the design of reformation; therefore we further add with these noble worthies, that as it cannot be denied, 1. That the right and priviledge of self-defence is not only founded in, but is the very first instinct of pure nature, and spring of all motion and action. 2. That it was competent to, and exercised by every individual, before that either society or government were known. 3. That it was so far from being surrendered or suppressed by the erecting of these, that it was and is the great end and motive, for which all voluntary societies and policies were introduced and are continued. 4. That it is a principle rule of righteousness, whereunto that great command of love to our neighbour, by the law of God and by our Lord himself is resolved, and whereby it is interpreted: so it doth infallibly follow, that the same right and priviledge is yet competent to all men, whether

separately or jointly; and needeth no other prerequisite, but that of intolerable and inevitable injury; (which for a man to suffer under pretext of the good of the commonwealth, would be, for the delusion of an empty name, only for the lust of others, really to deprive himself of his whole share and interest therein) and is compleated for exercise by such a probable capacity, as may encourage the asserters thereof to undertake it.

And as for that other, and more noble design of the maintenance and reformation of religion, waving the question and debate, *Whether the same can or ought to be by force maintained?* Which may appear sufficiently determined to rational men, by the very contrary practices of its adversaries, who not only by force do fight against it, but most irreligiously usurp and detort its own weapons, viz. the precepts of our Lord, for patience and meekness under a dispensation of suffering, to the persuasion of a stupid submission, and casting away the opportunity of defence and acting; that without control they may work its overthrow; and supposing with all men, that force is not a proper argument of persuasion, and that religion neither can nor ought to be thereby propagated; yet are we in conscience persuaded, that the grounds following, evidently held out in the records of these times, are beyond contradiction.

1. That religion, the highest concernment of God's glory, and of man's happiness both temporal and eternal, is the most important, dear and precious of all interests.

2. That to be violated in this (which cannot be without an unjust force either on mens persons or goods) is the most wicked and insupportable of all injuries.

3. That the propalling by force of such injuries,

was the justest cause and quarrel, that men in their primæval liberty could be engaged in.

4. That, as for the security of this interest, and no ways to make an absolute surrender thereof to the arbittment of any, men were mostly induced to the appointment of governors, so the glory of God, which is the end of all things, but herein is most especially concerned, was, by the erecting of rule and government for the security of religion, more particularly and eminently intended.

5. That the powers appointed for preservation, cannot warrantably endeavour subversion.

6. That, as every man is bound to obey God rather than man; so such violence, and intolerable and inevitable injury offered by the powers on this account, as to the person injured, destroyeth both the commonwealth of the people, and more especially, the glory of God, which are the only ends of government; maketh both the end, the means of government and authority, and the injured persons obligation thereunto, to cease,

7. As the persons, one or more, reduced to this estate and condition, if by a real or apparent incapacity of acting, they conceive themselves called to a testimony by suffering, ought herein with all patience, to give unto God the glory; so, having the opportunity of, and being called, whether to their own defence, or the assisting of their brethren in so just a cause, they ought therein valiantly to acquit themselves, for the glory of God; the maintenance of his truth, and the mutual preservation one of another.

8. As the *Combination* of more persons, whom the same common cause of just and necessary defence doth join together, is founded upon, and doth most naturally arise from the primæval right and privilege, which at first gave being and rise to all societies,

cieties, and whereunto, the force of extreme neceſſity, through the perverſion of that mean of government, appointed for their preſervation, doth ultimately reduce them; ſo the duty of mutual aſſiſtance, is not only warranted by that principle of humanity and common ſtipulation, which is the motive and bond of men entering into ſociety, the immediate and ſubordinate end of all rule, and the moſt effective mean, whereby that ſuperior end of the good and ſafety of every individual therein included, can be beſt ſecured: But alſo, firſt, by that more endearing principle of Chriſtian and brotherly affection in the Lord; upon the indiſpenſible force and obligation whereof, the very glory and righteousneſs of the great and laſt judgment ſeemeth to be founded, *Matth. xxv. 31.* to the end. And, ſecondly, by that ſupreme and chief concernment of God's glory, to which the intereſts of all powers and commonwealths muſt certainly ſtoop and cede. And how is it poſſible, that any ſcruple anent this can remain with any conſiderate or conſcientious perſon? if we conſider that whole cities, kingdoms, and empires, for the violation, of this duty, in not relieving and delivering of innocents from the unjuſt tyranny, even of lawful powers, have been involved in the guilt of the violence and cruelty, which had been only acted by one or a few perſons, and have been overtaken therefore, by fearful effects and judgments, to their utter ruin and ſubverſion. As is moſt evidently confirmed by that clear intimation thereof made by *Jeremiah*, to the *Jews*, *Chap. xxvi. 15.* *Know ye for a certain, that if you put me to death, ye ſhall ſurely bring innocent blood upon yourſelves, and upon THIS CITY, and upon THE INHABITANTS thereof.*

9. As the power and exerciſe of reformation hath been groſſly calumniated by the adverſaries,

as if thereby were meant, and had been practised manifest force and violence upon consciences and persuasions; so on the other hand, open idolatry, blasphemy, perjury, venting and spreading of heresy; and such like abominations, (being most dishonourable to God, and pernicious to all commonwealths) ought without doubt, by all means to be suppressed, restrained and severely punished. Now, that this vindicative and (in case of backsliding) reforming power is committed to the magistrate, and that he is thereto mainly appointed, none will question; but what if not only the supreme magistrate, but with him all the nobles and *primores* of the realm, shall turn the principal perverters, and chief patrons of these abominations? As we have already cleared, that, in case either the people or any part of them, be violated to a sinful compliance, or be wickedly persecuted for adhering to God in the profession and practice of the contrary duties; they may lawfully defend themselves, and are mutually bound to assist and deliver one another: so it now comes to be considered, That, seeing the maintenance of truth and the true worship of God, were and are the principal ends and motives of contracting of societies and erecting of governments, whereunto both the people and rulers, are not only separately every one for himself, but jointly obliged for the publick advancement and establishment thereof; and that God doth therefore equally exact and avenge the sin of the rulers only, or of the people only, or of any part of the people only, upon the whole body of the rulers, and people, for their simple tolerance and connivance, without their active compliance with the transgressors; of necessity, both from the principles deduced, and from the most visible judgments of God agreeable thereto, there must be a superi-

or and antecedent obligation to that of submission, incumbent upon all both jointly and separately, for the maintenance, vindication and reformation of religion, in order to the promoting of these great ends of the publick profession of truth and true worship, which the Lord doth indispensibly require. And though this position be indeed more evident, where expresse covenants betwixt God and the whole people, betwixt rulers and their subjects, and betwixt the people and subjects amongst themselves, in order to these holy duties can be produced; yet seeing all constitutions of societies and governments, do virtually suppose and imply the same, and are founded thereon, the assertion doth with equal certainty firmly hold: but that all contradiction may stop its mouth, let the import and true meaning of the Scriptures, and instances following, be impartially weighed. *Deut. xiii. 12. 13. 14. 15.* The Lord saith, *If thou shalt hear that in one of thy cities, certain men amongst you have withdrawn the inhabitants of their city, to serve other gods; and if after diligent search, the thing be found a truth, thou shalt smite and destroy that city utterly.* *Jos. xxii. 17. 18. 19.* Phinehas saith to the two tribes and the half, upon their supposed defection, *If ye rebel to-day against the Lord, to-morrow he will be wroth with the whole congregation of Israel: And Judges xxii. throughout,* in the case of Israel against Benjamin and Gibeah. All the places, as they clearly hold out the command and practice most consonant to our position; so to think that the same may be evaded, by restricting the places to the *hypothesis* contained in the letter, *viz.* of more or all the cities against one apostatizing, and that either an equal division of the cities, (the one half faithful, the other backslidden) should bring the matter to an accommodation; or that the great-

er part backslidden, (who certainly had the casting voice in that *democratic* constitution, should oblige the fewer remaining stedfast, to a sinful acquiescence, is to elude all Scripture, and mock the Holy Ghost by whom it is given. Now, whether these places, and what is premised, do warrant a just extention thereof in favours of the people, against backslidden rulers both supreme and subordinate, or even in favours of a part of the people (with the caution subjoined) against the greater part wickedly backslidden, let the world judge. Oh! did the wrath of God, for the hidden and secret sin of one poor accursed *Achan*, suddenly and fearfully overtake the whole people, and ALL THE CONGREGATION of *Israel*, so that, *that man perished not ALONE in his iniquity?* and had not our reformers great reason to fear and tremble, least the manifest toleration of proud, cruel, and flattering Prelates, who had perverted the lawful powers into bloody persecuters; and of idolatrous priests, whose wickedness and idolatry had corrupted the whole land, might involve, not only themselves, but *the whole nation*, in destroying and overflowing indignation.

We are not ignorant of the no less wicked than groundless cavils of some, as if we would make or have every man to be a *Phinehas*: And what then? Would God (if wishes, yea, prayers and tears could make it) that all his servants were as *Phinehas*, and that he would put upon every one of them, the same spirit of holy zeal which was in him, that by removal of the cause, his fierce anger against this poor consuming land might cease. But as for that act of *Phinehas*, the terms following being general and ambiguous, admitting of several distinctions and subdistinctions, as it is not easy with it distinguishing, *in these* to define an action and call

extraordinary, and an action and call thereunto, only heroical; and to state the true specific difference and just limits between an action and call extraordinary, and an action and call heroical, as they are strictly taken and contradistinguished; and clearly and convincingly to demonstrate, what and how much more is required in an extraordinary call to an extraordinary action, than is required in a sufficient call unto an heroical action? And whether an eminent measure of holy zeal, magnanimity, and fortitude do constitute a sufficient call unto an heroical action; or do only dispose and fit the person for the right and better performance thereof; as a *call* unto the action, and the *fitness* of the person for the doing of the same are contradistinguished; or may not both dispose and fit the person for performance of the action, and also include and give a call unto the action itself: So when the matter is fully considered, it will be more difficult than perhaps is apprehended, to prove that the act of *Phinebas* was extraordinary strictly taken, and in contradistinction to that which is only heroical; or that his call thereunto was extraordinary, in contradistinction to that which is a sufficient call unto an heroical action; and more difficult to determine, otherwise than by a naked assertion, what that extraordinary call was? Wherein it did consist? Wherein it did differ from, exceed or excel a call unto an heroick action? And therefore, it will be also hard convincingly to demonstrate, that it might not have been lawfully done by another of the children of *Israel*, whom the Lord had animated thereunto, by the same holy zeal and resolution. And this is the more considerable, because, as we very rarely, (if at all) find the Lord commending and rewarding persons for extraordinary actions, whereunto they had extraordinary calls, so much and so highly,

highly, as here he commendeth and rewardeth *Phinebas*: So the text itself, *Numb. xxv.* doth lay the great, if not the only weight and ground of his commendation and reward, upon his zeal, and not upon any extraordinary call, whereof there is not the least hint or insinuation; for ver. 11. the Lord saith, *He turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, while he was zealous for my sake among them*, and therefore, ver. 12. 13. promiseth him *His covenant of peace, a seed after him, and the covenant of an everlasting priesthood, because he was zealous for his God.* And if any shall, as it is like some will alledge, that heroical actions, are not more imitable than those which are extraordinary; it is humbly offered to be considered, a-
nent heroical actions in general. Whether, when the matter of an action is not only ordinary, that is, neither preternatural nor supernatural, though not very frequent; but also just and lawful; yea, and necessary, both by divine precept, and as a mean to a good and necessary end; and when either there is not, or doth not appear any other to do the work, whether I say, in that case, a spirit of holy zeal, magnanimity and courage, wrought and excited by the Lord in his servants and people, more or fewer, being otherwise in a rational and probable capacity, be not for that time a sufficient call, unto the performance of these actions, which are commonly called heroical; and especially when and where, the action is not unnecessarily, irrationally, nor in vanity attempted, but may be and is performed, not only without prejudice of the true, necessary and chief good of the church and commonwealth, or of any particular person's just right and security; but also in the case of the magistrate, and others, their wilful and perverse neglecting of their duty, is necessarily undertaken, and is not on-

ly formally intended by the actor, but also natively and really doth conduce to the glory of God, the good of religion, the preservation and establishment of the church and commonwealth, and of every particular person's just rights and security, by suppressing of impiety, promoting of truth and holiness, doing of justice, turning away of wrath and removing of present, and preventing of future judgments. And as for the particular instance of *Phinebas*, if the Lord did not only raise him up to that particular act of justice, but also warrant and accept him therein, and reward him therefore, upon the account of his zeal, when where was a godly and zealous magistrate, able, and whom we cannot without breach of charity presume, but also willing to execute justice: how much more may it be pleaded, that the Lord, who is the same, yesterday, to day and for ever, will, not only pour out of that same spirit upon others, but also when he gives it, both allow them, though they be but private persons, and also call them, being otherwise in a physical and probable capacity, to do these things in an extremely necessitous, and otherwise irrecoverable state of the church, to which in more intire condition thereof, he doth not call them; and particularly when there is not only the like or worse provocations, the like necessity of the execution of justice and of reformation, for the turning away of wrath and removal of judgments, that was in *Phinebas* case; but also when the supreme civil magistrate, the *primores regni* and other inferior rulers, are not only unwilling to do their duty, but so far corrupted and perverted, that they are become the authors and patronizers of these abominations. Which is also the more considerable, because, if upon the fear of suspicion of the accidental hazard of private mens usurping of the office, or doing of
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the duty of publick persons, every virtue and virtuous action, which may be so abused, shall be utterly neglected, impiety shall quickly gain an universal empire, to the extermination of all goodness. It is true, that the God of order hath assigned to every man his station and calling, within the bounds whereof he should keep, without transgressing by defect or excess; and therein wait and act, in such a measure of the Spirit as he is pleased to communicate: and we do not hold such instances for regular and ordinary precedents for all-times and persons universally; which while some have fancied, and heeding more the glory and fame of the action, than the sound and solid rule of the holy Scriptures, they have been tempted and carried to fearful extravagancies: neither are insolent nor disorderly, much less wicked attempts, which sometimes have covered, and yet may mask themselves with a pretence of zeal, upon this or any other ground to be licensed or approved; but, on the other hand, as these instances hold forth, for the conviction and reproof of our stupidity and indifferency, what an high pitch of holy zeal and courage, the servants of the Lord have sometimes attained; and do further demonstrate, that he doth sometimes warrant even private persons, in their doing of these things in an extreme necessity and collapsed state of the church, to which at other times he doth not call them: so, when the Lord, with whom is the residue of the Spirit, doth breathe upon his people more or fewer, to the exciting of more than ordinary zeal, courage and resolution, for the reforming of an apostate church, for the execution of justice upon the adversaries, and for the advancing and establishing of truth and holiness in the earth, we should rather ascribe glory and praise to him, whose hand is not shortened, but many times

times chooseth the weak and foolish things of the world to confound the mighty and wise, than condemn his instruments for rebels and usurpers, as it is like *Phinehas* would have been, had he lived in this generation, if the same Lord, who by his spirit had acted him, had not also by his own hand rescued him.

10. As the right of self-defence, mutual assistance and reformation, is properly and only derivable from the grounds adduced; so the concurrence of the nobles and *primores regni*, is no ways of *absolute necessity*, though indeed singularly conducive for the carrying on thereof. Unto which concurrence, as they are doubly obliged, according to that, *Unto whom much is given, of the same much shall be required*; so, if they shall convert their power to the strengthening of the hands of the wicked, they do thereby not only aggravate their own condemnation, but by their endeavouring to wreath and fasten more strongly the yoke of wickedness and oppression, they do the rather and more justify the cause and plea of all the asserters of truth and righteousness.

These are a part of the grounds, whereupon these noble worthies, raised up by God and eminently by him inspired, did singly act for his own glory: which as they have left upon record for their own perpetual vindication, so thereby they did clearly purge themselves from all imputation of rebellion. Nor were their proceedings and practices ever by any so much as termed disorderly, except by such who being altogether indifferent in the work of God, endeavour by all means to calumniate and shame them, from being made precedents to their own prejudice.

Fourthly, It is observable, that though the practices of these first times were extraordinary, and to many may appear disorderly, yet the faithful men whom the Lord honoured both to suffer and to do
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for his name, did constantly and boldly charge both the rise and progress of these disorders, upon the persons then in power and authority, who, being ordained and entrusted by God, for the defence and maintenance of truth and righteousness, (as the only true foundations and solid grounds of the peoples felicity, whether temporal or eternal; and including all the ends, for which either the power or persons of governors are appointed; and consequently, the principal bonds of all obedience and subjection, for which all these engagements are intended, and to which they do ultimately refer) by refusing and starting out from this most sacred and fixed line of subordination; as they could not claim obedience to their unjust commands, so, far less could they oblige the people, to that more than slavish and brutish subjection, in the submitting of their souls, bodies and goods to the arbitrament of their cruel tyranny, directly contrary unto, and destructive of all these holy and great ends, both of God's glory, and the peoples spiritual and temporal good, for which they were constituted governors.

That this was the source and fountain of all disorders in these times, and that it was so reputed to be, by these valiant worthies, who then opposed them, the history thereof doth plainly verify. We are not forgetful, how vehemently the powers on earth, which set themselves against the Lord, and their creatures and flatterers, have in all times decry'd such assertions: the noise, belshings, and thundrings of *Treason, treason*, wherewith the very mentioning of such positions, useth at once to be attended and condemned, do already sound in our ears: let such as are thereby alarmed, read the debates and controversies, both of former and latter times; especially these two *martyrs* against tyranny, *Lex Rex*, and the *Apogetical Narration* upon this subject.

subject. This is our peace and establishment before the Lord and all men; that we with our noble reformers do acknowledge and honour authority as the great ordinance of God, for the upholding and maintenance of truth and righteousness; and the persons therewith vested, not only as eminently thereby dignified, but also as most signally impressed, by a very sacred and illustrious character of the glorious Majesty of the Most High, who hath appointed them: but on the other hand, we cannot but wish, that these same persons would constantly remember, that not only they are the ministers of God, and to him accountable; but also his ministers to the people for their good, whom they neither ought to tyrannize over at their own pleasure, nor rule only for their profit. O! that these sacred boundaries had ever been observed, and that both tyranny and rebellion with all their antidotes and remedies, had been perpetually unknown. But shall tyranny, unto which, power, both in itself is so easily corrupted, and by the flattery of others more frequently abused, be not only shrouded under the privilege and impunity of a divine exemption; but thereby, in effect be more intolerably licensed, to the acting of all wickedness and violence, and the perverting and overturning of all the ends of government? And in the mean time, shall the peoples most just and necessary defence of themselves, (whereunto they are seldom and very hardly provoked, even by the most extreme necessity) and of all their most precious concerns, the very ends for which the powers are ordained, be continually at the arbitrium of any court-creature or flatterer, proscribed and persecuted under these odious names of *treason* and *rebellion*? Certainly, neither the all-wise providence of God; nor yet the frame of nature can endure such a solecism. For our part, as we are persuaded, that

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none pleadeth for this absolute submission in the people, and exemption of the prince, but such as for advancing of their own interest, have first prostrated their consciences to the princes arbitrament, in a blind and absolute obedience; whereby they know themselves sufficiently secured from all smart and inconvenience, of that more brutal then rational submission contended for: so are we confident, that seeing subjection is principally enjoined, for and in order to obedience, whatsoever reason or authority can be adduced to persuade an absolute and indispensable subjection, will far more rationally and plausibly infer an illimited and absolute obedience; and that to plead for a privilege in the point of obedience, and to disclaim it in the point of subjection, is only the flattery of such, as having renounced with conscience all distinction of obedience, would divest others of all privileges, that they may exercise their tyranny without control. But he who hath called rulers, *gods*; doth notwithstanding himself remain the Most High God over all the earth; and from his obedience, neither the commands nor violence of kings of clay ought in the least to remove us. And as these inferior princes do often forget their subordination to the Most High, in their unjust commands; and would usurp his throne, by an uncontrollable sovereignty; so the Lord, by the warrant of his word, and approbation of his providence, and also of the people, (when by them oppressed, but by himself animated and strengthened) hath declared and made void this their pretended exemption and impunity, and removed the carcasses of such kings and broken their scepter. Amongst which precedents, the instance of these times, whereof we now speak, is worthily recorded, and deserveth better to be remembered.

Seeing therefore, that neither the ordinance and

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commission of God, nor yet the surrender of the people, though into an absolute slavery (which yet no presumption less than their own most express consent can possibly infer) can from any certain and rational ground and warrant, be either produced or pleaded for vesting the prince with that arbitrary and irresistible power and dominion, necessary and requisite to oblige the subject to a stupid and brutish submission, to all possible injuries and outrages; and that it is impossible for any rational man, to concede that privilege of exemption and impunity to wickedness and fury, for murdering both the souls and bodies of poor subjects, which our very adversaries deny to weakness or folly, in case of alienation of the kingdom or any part thereof, or any such gross act of mal-versation; and lastly, seeing the great inconvenience, of opening a door to rebellion and all disorder, mainly urged by the adversaries, against the permitting of the people any judgment or reflection upon the princes actings, doth more rationally plead for implicate and blind obedience, which they themselves disprove, than militate against necessary defence and resistance in case of persecution for lawful non-obedience; and that the great and true salvo of all these inconveniences, and the main establishment of the throne, is only true judgment and righteousness, no sober and impartial person can condemn their position, who denying that a tyrannous magistrate was the minister of God to them for their good, did plainly assert the lawfulness of self-defence, and holy reformation, without the violation of the ordinance of God.

But if all these things do not satisfy, let, 1. The reason of God's delivering of the kingdom to the people, and not to the king, with the law itself, *Deut. xvii. 14.* (which the manner of the kingdom and in effect of tyranny, foretold by the Lord and

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Samuel, 1 *Sam.* viii. 10. by way of dissuasive, did no ways repeal.) 2. The import of the contract and covenant betwixt prince and subject, with the unquestionable interpretation and execution thereof, extant in the records of all times and nations; 3. The deed of the people in opposing *Saul* in favours of *Jonathan*, 1 *Sam.* xiv. 45. and of the ten tribes in rejecting of *Rehoboam*, 1 *Kings* xii. (which though *v.* 19. it be termed *rebellion*, yet is it no more thereby condemned, than good *Hezekiah*, who is said 2 *Kings* xviii. 7. to have *rebelled* against the king of *Assyria*) and of *Libna* in revolting from under *Jehoram*, 2 *Chron.* xxi. 10. 4. The prophecies, manner, and practice of the most part of the late blessed reformati-
ons. And lastly, let the peculiar right and constitution of this kingdom by king and parliament be considered and solidly answered; and then will we also subscribe to the condemnation of our reformers, and crave pardon for this digression.

Upon these grounds and principles did our noble ancestors vigorously bestir themselves, and proceed in the work of God. And as the Lord was ever with them, while they were with him, and did mind his work stedfastly, in sincerity and uprightness of heart, so notwithstanding all the falshood and faintings which many discovered, yet the Lord himself did gloriously own it, and ceased not, until by the fair product of his own glory, in the clear manifestation of his blessed evangel, he had without the least prejudice of the fundamental constitution and rights of government, to the eternal confutation of all calumnies and reproaches, put on the copestone with these joyous, and never to be forgotten acclamations of *Grace, grace.*

Thus in the year 1560, the land is enlightned, the blessed gospel of our Lord again revealed and
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restored; in so much, that both by the first general assembly of this church then convening, and the parliament then holden, a large confession of the true faith is framed, approved and published.

O ! that men would remember, seriously consider and fix in their hearts, the greatness and excellency of this work of grace and glory, bringing salvation, peace and good will toward men ; and manifesting the praise and glory of God in the highest ; that in the just estimation thereof, they might also duly and and truly ponder, discern, approve or reject all things conducing, either to its advantage or prejudice. But here is the root of all our sin and misery, that though this light, be only our life ; and the salvation and redemption thereby revealed, be no less than the project of God's eternal love, and the subject of his eternal delight ; and was more dear and glorious to our Lord Jesus, than the bosom of the Father, and all the glory of heaven ; yet men, so greatly and highly therein concerned, do at best but rejoice therein for a season, and soon relapse, first into indifferency and formality, and then into error, superstition and all ignorance. This the Devil, the author of all wickedness, knowing and improving to the uttermost, for the advancement of his own kingdom, doth quickly take advantage of, for setting on work and promoting of that mystery of iniquity. Which (springing up in that bitter root of pride, and working in the spiritual power and subtilty thereof) as it began to work very early in the Christian church, even amongst the disciples themselves, in presence of their and our Lord, (as appeareth by their contention, *who should be greatest*) and notwithstanding all the grace, power, and presence of the Lord, which appeared in the times that followed, and all the long and violent persecution, wherewith the church of God was then exercised ; yet continuing
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its motion, did still advance, until attaining its maturity in the revelation of the man of sin, it filled and overwhelmed the Christian world, with these strong delusions of superstition, idolatry, and all darkness that so long prevailed therein: so it is the main and only engine whereby Satan, as in all other churches, so in this of ours, hath so actively bestirred himself, and attempted the overthrow of their latter reformatiōns.

These are the causes, why, notwithstanding of that great and glorious light which the Lord made to shine amongst us, the true government and discipline of the church of Christ, (though his own great ordinance, instituted both for fencing and securing of truth in purity; and for promoting of the same in power; and though by the light of that same truth, clearly discovered and manifested) thro' long opposition and many difficulties, did scarce in these days attain its establishment.

Yet the Lord, who of his own free mercy and grace, did visit us with the day-spring of his blessed gospel from on high; did also by his own power and presence, in and with his faithful servants, at length also complete his work, and establish his kingdom over us, and his government amongst us: and so the kingdom became the Lord's; even the first-fruits of the kingdoms of the earth, unto our Lord Jesus Christ.

The progress and period of this work, was from the year 1560. unto the year 1592. during which space, these things are very observable.

1. So soon as this church attained to freedom from persecution and contrary violence, they assembled in their first national synod in the year 1560. by vertue of that *intrinsic power* and privilege granted by our Lord unto his church, and exercised by his Apostles and their followers; and that

without any question or control : nor did they so much as petition for the licence of the then authority, though the same might have been more easily obtained, than the warrant at that time impetrated for convening of the parliament.

2. As they first assembled, and by vertue of the same warrant, did set on foot and continue a constant *series* of their cōurts and meetings : (except in so far as by plain force and violence they were restrained) so they held the same in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ only, and in his sole authority, by direction of his word and Spirit, concluded all their council, votes and acts. It is true, that they much and long wished for, and thereafter heartily accepted the countenance and concurrence of the powers for the time ; and that, not only for decency, but also as the gracious performance of that promise, *Isa. xlix. ver. 23.* of the favour and assistance of kings and queens to the church in the latter days : but as they were persuaded, that the Lord Jesus (perfect in all his house) when invested at his exaltation with all power in heaven and in earth, did make a full grant and commission of all gifts and offices requisite in his church ; *1 Cor. xii. 28. Ephes. iv. 8. and 11.* (wherein neither king nor prince is mentioned) and that there was no authority wanting to these first decrees made at *Jerusalem*, though emitted upon that simple warrant, *Act. xv. 28. It seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and unto us,* (wherein neither king nor prince was included,) so did they account it a gross usurpation, for the kings on earth, in place of their promised patrociny (to which they are obliged) to claim and invade an over-ruling arbitrimēt in the matters of God and his church ; and believe, that he who established the distinction, and confirmed their right,

by separating *Cæsar's* things from the things of God; doth also exact the same on their part.

3. The brethren convening in these assemblies, did meet in perfect *pariety* and *equality*; against which, the extraordinary employments and commissions delegated to some, upon the account of the particular exigence of these times, did grant no privilege or pre-eminence.

From these three observations, without mentioning the first Book of Discipline, containing the true grounds and frame of presbyterial government, which was compiled in the year 1560, and then approved by the whole church, and subscribed to by a great many lords and counsellors, it is evident that *presbyterial* government was from the beginning of the reformation constantly intended, and its foundation really laid. We need not mention that the Pope's authority and all jurisdiction flowing therefrom, was by law in the same year 1560, expressly abrogated and discharged; nor that in these first assemblies, greater benefices were craved to be dissolved, and Prelacy reputed to be only an *human device*; nor is it necessary for us to clear, how that extraordinary employment of *superintendency*, used for a few years in the beginning, was both only designed for an *interim*, and in it self wholly different from *Prelacy*, and was at length rejected as burthensome. All these things are sufficiently cleared by the late large *Apology*.

4. It is observable, That as the avarice and power of some, who possessed and grasped after the churches revenues, did, by the procurement of a few packed commissioners, in the year 1571. introduce these mock-bishops (called *Tulchan*) for the better securing of their own gain, which in the assemblies immediately succeeding, were first protested against, then quarrelled, and lastly restrained and

subjected thereunto; so the Lord used the same as a warning, to awaken and animate his servants to a more vigorous prosecution of the establishment of his house in its due government: In pursuance whereof, the assemblies with the king's concurrence, from the year 1575, until the year 1581. did with much prayer, fasting and painfulness intend the work, until by perfecting of the second Book of Discipline, and reducing of the bishops to a simple dismissal, and condemning their office as unwarrantable, they completed their work in the exact model of presbyterial government, in all its courts and officers.

5. During this space in *March* 1581, as we now reckon, and after the assembly had condemned the *office* of bishops as unwarrantable, the king, his court and council did swear and subscribe to the National Covenant; by which both the Pope's usurped authority over the church in one article, and his wicked *hierarchy* in another, are abjured: and the swearers did join themselves unto this true reformed church, in doctrine, faith, religion and discipline; promising by the great name of the Lord our God, to continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline thereof all the days of their lives. Which discipline, as the foregoing assertions do clearly discover, to have been from the beginning fundamentally *presbyterial*; so the model of *presbytery* being now compleated, and any shadow of power, that the mock-bishops had lately usurped, being now fully abrogated, it is sufficiently clear, that both *Prelacy* is by this covenant abjured, and *Presbytery* owned and sworn to. And really if it be further considered, that the assemblies both 1581, and 1590, while most intent and forward in the erecting of presbyteries, did enjoin and require the same to be subscribed by all ranks of people in the land,

land, and that these acts were both seconded and enforced, by ordinances of king and council, it may be justly doubted, whether the impudence of the succeeding Prelates in denying of the obligation, or perjury in breaking of it be greater. This is the great oath, into which, as the Lord God did bring us by the power of his own Spirit and truth, in opposition to that bloody bond, called the *Holy League*, wherein Antichrist and his followers, had at that time conjured themselves against the true church of God; so the kingdom thereby became the Lord's, and we his peculiar people, as well by the people's subjecting of themselves and their alledg-
ence, as by the king's submitting himself and his scepter, in a due subordination unto God and our Lord Jesus Christ, for the maintenance and defence of his church and gospel, the liberties of the land and administration of justice. And this oath and the ordinances enjoining it, notwithstanding the many fearful violations thereof that have ensued, do yet stand to this day unrepealed and declared against, to the unanswerable conviction and condemnation, even in their own courts and consciences, of all its wicked transgressors.

6. As the *Tulchan* bishops were the effect and product of the avarice of these lords that favoured them; so the same principle of avarice and wickedness did again resist the work of God, when almost brought to perfection, by stirring up certain of the nobles to induce bishops, for the better inhauncing of their benefices, and the devouring of the church's patrimony: and not only for their better establishment, that what they want of divine right and warrant, might be supplied by the accession of the king's power and command; but also that by their means, the growing wickedness of these times might abound without restraint or con-

trol, the Devil inciteth others of the more prophane, licentious and violent courtiers, such as the Earl of *Arran* and his complices, to move and instigate the king, contrary both to the word and will of God, to usurp the prerogative of Jesus Christ, who is alone king in Zion, and to invade his church's privileges, purchased for her with her own blood, by assuming to himself in the *first* and *immediate instance*, the cognition of her doctrine and censures; which though the church did constantly and valiantly oppose, both by petitions and protestations; yet this wickedness did so impetuously proceed, that all at once in a parliament summarily called in the year 1582, the prerogative of our Lord is translated upon the king, and his jurisdiction and empire exalted over all persons and *causes*, the estate of bishops and their power and dignity confirmed, and the power of the general assemblies of the church put into the king's hand. We mention not these things with any purpose to debate these questions, which have been moved on this subject; only we are confident, that how extensive soever the king's power may be in the case of reformation (which, alas! for the most part cometh short of its reach) yet where a church is regularly constituted, and so acting and by him sworn to be maintained, no king or prince ought so far to intrude himself into her power and privileges, unto which he is neither called nor gifted, as to assume to himself a sovereign and immediate power of judging and discerning upon doctrine, and her most spiritual rights and censures, and thereby in effect not only to constitute himself a proper and direct church-officer, without our Lord's appointment; but instead of Papacy so justly abrogated and so solemnly abjured, to erect and revive the same in himself (a secular person) far more absurdly and intolerably. We know that other formalities and

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notions are pretended, as these of treason, sedition, and disorder, to palliate and colour this usurpation; but seeing nothing spoken or acted by warrant of the word of God, can fall under the definition or pain of these crimes, and that all ministers and ecclesiastic courts are known, allowed and presumed, both to speak and act according to that only warrant. And lastly, seeing both the warrant is to them committed, and the church is privileged and permitted to have its own proper power and cognition thereanent, as it followeth by clear consequence, that the things questioned, must and ought to be *first* subjected to her trial and cognition; so none do deny the magistrate's just right and power, over both these things and persons, they being once lawfully found to be destitute of the warrant pretended. But seeing both scripture and reason doth testify against this usurpation, as most unlawful in itself and injurious to our Lord Jesus, and that all experiences have proven it to be most pernicious to his church and kingdom, and therefore many of his faithful servants have worthily and valiantly resisted it, not only to bonds and banishment, but even to blood for the testimony of their Lord and Master.

We return to the purpose of this observation, which is to vindicate the honour of the Lord's work, and the memory of his faithful servants, in the discovery of the old malice and subtilty of the great enemy of the church of God, working in the wicked Prelates and their abettors; who to the effect they may enjoy their carnal designs, and prosecute their wicked lusts without control, endeavour mainly by an absolute surrender of all things, powers, persons and interests, to flatter and exalt the king unto an illimited sovereignty, and pretended omnipotency, thereby both to oblige and enable him the more to such acts, deeds, and grants as are requisite for the
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satisfying of their vain ambition, insatiable covetousness and wicked lusts : which flattery and usurpation, being not more agreeable to the vain heart of man, than contrary to the kingdom of our Lord, and the power and purity of his blessed gospel, what wonder if his faithful servants (who can neither deny his name, nor disobey his commands, by complying with the wicked practices, and the blasphemous flattery of these vile apostates) be not only hated of all men ; but with their Lord and master become the continual object of the reproaches, violence and cruelty of the wicked, as enemies and rebels to lawful authority ? Now that the world may perceive the wicked intent and design of this prerogative, that it is none other than that of the Devil (as to conciliate and endear the powers to Prelates, who while they create the king's prerogative, pretend themselves to be the king's only creatures ; so to arm and animate the same powers against our Lord and his followers.) Let its rise and effects both first and last be marked and observed, and the search will declare, that wicked men lusting to tyranny and licentiousness, are checked and galled by the freedom and power of faithful ministers in the application of the holy word and spiritual censures. What remedy ? This freedom is found treasonable, and prejudicial to the king's service and interest, and the plain zeal of God is therefore taxed as sedition and treason ; and under these formalities, the privileges of the church are infringed, and all the asserters thereof lashed with the same calumny : whereupon, and to perfect the cure, the king must be declared IN ALL and OVER ALL ; and by virtue of his feigned omnipotency, and for recovery of that unity and order, which only the coming of our Lord, his blessed gospel, and powerful ministry is pretended to have disturbed, the ancient policy of the church must

must be restored; and the greatest flatterers made the archest Prelates, who by inhancing and by destroying the power, may compesce the (pretended) insolency of the ministry; and by the continual pretending of dissatisfaction and disloyalty, may terrify men out of all conscience, until by the introducing of will-worship and vain superstitions, they may extinguish all light, and thereby reduce that golden age of order into stupid flattery, and of unity into implicite obedience. And if these be not the kind careesses, and most native issues of *prerogative* and *Prelacy*, and the very restoring and re-establishing of the kingdom of Antichrist, he who cannot find it in this period, will find all supplied by the next.

7. Though we love not to reflect on events, and know that no man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before him, yet seeing thereby the Lord's judgments are made manifest, men ought both to observe and fear. The disastrous ends of all the promoters of Prelates in these days, (*viz.* of the Earl of *Morton* beheaded; Mr. *John Douglas* archbishop of *St. Andrews* dying in the pulpit; the Earl of *Arran*, after disgrace, privately killed; Mr. *Patrick Adamson* archbishop of *St. Andrews*, after recantation and disgrace, dying in extreme poverty) may justly cause their course the rather to be shunned and detested: but that which we love rather to observe, is, That as the promoters and advancers of *Prelacy*, were always known to be men of no principles, and for the most part of very flagitious practices; so the resisters thereof and favourers of presbytery, especially the Lord's faithful ministers in these days; were not only very eminent in knowledge, piety and holiness, but above all had that great testimony and confirmation, which our Lord himself maketh use of, *John* vii. 18. that they sought not their own glory,

ry, and therefore neither spoke nor did of themselves, but sought his glory that sent them, and therefore were true, and no unrighteousness was in them. As both their slighting of court favours, by which they were much tempted, and their obstinate refusal of bishopricks, whereof king James himself bare them witness, doth testify.

8. The Lord, whose work is perfect, and who when he beginneth will also make an end, hereafter in the year 1586 shineth through the cloud, dissipateth the darknes, and after the storm blesteth us with a great calm; wherein, the assemblies reassuming their just power, and the matter by the king being brought to a treaty and conference, the bishops are first restrained, and then reduced. Thereafter by the order of presbyteries being set down and perfected in the year 1590, both the National Covenant is renewed and subscribed, by order of the secret council at the assemblies desire; and all the power that remained either in bishops or commissioners, by that the assembly is devolved upon the new erected presbyteries. And thus the work of the Lord, in the *Parl. 12. James VI.* by the 114. *Act.* thereof, ratifying presbyterial government in all its assemblies, courts and officers, qualifying and restricting the former *Act.* 1584. anent the king's prerogative, and abrogating all acts contrary thereto, or inconsistent therewith, and by other acts there recorded, receiveth its last and full accomplishment, with power and beauty, added to the former grace and glory.

9. That, as only the malice of Satan and wickedness of men, have in all ages opposed the establishment of presbytery; so the Lord, whose great work and ordinance it is, doth no less evidently commend it, by making, as on the one hand, its sincere and holy severity powerfully to coerce and restrain

strain all vice and profanity; so, on the other hand, the harmonious and orderly subordination of its courts and assemblies, most efficaciously to prevent and suppress all schism and heresy: which the experience of these and all succeeding times do most clearly confirm.

But though the Lord had shewed us all these great and manifold temptations and troubles, and terminated them all in such a wonderful and blessed deliverance, that we might for ever fear his great name, love his precious truth, and keep his holy covenant; and though in the short sun-shine of that day of salvation, he caused both king and people to taste and see the order, beauty and power of that establishment; yet, O! how soon did we forget the works of the Lord? We kepted not his covenant. *O Lord, the people of thine inheritance enjoyed it but a little.*

It is not necessary for our design, that we should trace and recount all these sad steps and degrees, by which the holy and wise God thought fit, to bring back his church in this land unto that great distress that hereafter ensued, and caused her to wander long in a wilderness of great desertion; nor what were the causes and beginnings of that so horrid defection, (which the histories of the most partial pens, whatever provocations they pretend to be in the Lord's faithful ministers, cannot purge nor palliate from a mere design of carnal policy) carried on by manifest dissimulation and palpable fraud. It is enough for us, (let the true histories of these proceedings be examined, and it will appear without the help of our observation,) that, as the beginnings of that defection were no other than the unfaithfulness of man, and the inconsistency of the wisdom of God with the carnal wisdom of this world, and that old opposition and rooted prejudice

dice of the kings and powers of the earth, who have for the far greatest part set themselves, and taken counsel against the Lord and against his anointed; so for the unquestionable confirmation of all that had been said, either as to the wicked rise or woful effects of Prelacy in this church, the Devil's part therein was visibly to promote his own kingdom, by reacting the most palpable and gross mystery of iniquity that can possibly be described: in so far as this apostacy arising from small beginnings, by fair and smooth pretensions, crafty insinuations, court-flatteries, false calumnies and suggestions, open and gross perjuries, and violent disorders, according to the working of Satan; after great and long opposition by conferences, warnings and petitions, and faithful and constant testimonies and sufferings of the zealous witnesses of our Lord, both unto bonds, banishment, and sentences of death, against the again aspiring prerogative, and usurping Prelacy under its shadow, did, in the secret and holy judgment of God, change the glory of God and of our Lord Jesus into the similitude of the *Roman Beast*, turning the power of godliness unto formality, his faithful ministers into corrupt hirelings, the power and life of preaching into flattery and vanity, the substance of religion into empty and ridiculous ceremonies, the beauty and purity of ordinances into superstitious inventions of kneeling, crossing, holy-days and the like; the beautiful and powerful government of God's house for the edification of souls, to a lordly dominion over consciences and violent persecution of mens persons; and in a word, the great end of the glorious gospel and its blessed ministry, even the salvation of poor sinners, which is the pleasure of the Lord, the fruit of the travel of his soul, the joy of heaven, the crown and glory of the blessed Apostles,

ties, and the end of all things, and of the second appearance of the great God, into an empty title, and specious pretext for the fulfilling of mens lusts and pleasures, the establishing of their power and tyranny, and the ruin and extermination of all such as opposed, and mourned for all these abominations.

Thus, this work and kingdom of darkness did advance apace, and had almost attained unto its full maturity, of hurrying this poor land and nation headlong, into that gulf of confusion, error and superstition, whereinto Popery did formerly involve us, when it pleased the Lord, according to his great mercy and faithfulness, to remember his covenant, though we had fearfully forgotten it; and in the midst of that growing darkness and those manifold confusions to cause his Spirit to move, and light to arise upon this land, about the middle of the year 1637; which appearing in the former power and glory, did from a very small and improbable beginning, even the opposition of a few weak women to the introducing and reading of that carcase of formality, the *Service-book*, then ready to be imposed, proceed in such an universal, vigorous, regular and powerful method through the whole land, without the least mixture and ingredient of force and violence, but only by these most warrantable and unquestionable means of petitioning, remonstrating, protesting, and renewing their covenant with God and amongst themselves, that before the end of the year 1638, the work of God was revived with more glory and splendor, than ever formerly it had attained. We know that not only the renewing of the covenant, especially with the enlargement explaining the same, in order to the novations in worship and corruptions in government, whereunto this church had apostatized, and the bond or mutual

mutual defence thereto added; but also their protestings and joint petitionings have been condemned as seditious and rebellious: But seeing the same, both from the clear word of God, the pure light of nature, the zealous and valiant practices of our reformers, and the laws and constitutions of the realm are clearly warranted; and by the power and presence of God were signally approved; and by the super-venient acts of the king, parliament, and general assembly so fully established and confirmed; and seeing that they only were and are condemned by such, as either being the children of the Devil, filled with all subtilty and mischief, and enemies of all righteousness, cease not to pervert the right ways of the Lord; or by such who for advancement of their own interests, have sacrificed all conscience and reason to ambition and covetousness; or by such who on base and open flattery of the king, and of the powers; and neither knowing nor regarding any other interest or concernment, than that which dependeth on their pleasure, do set and serve the same in place of the Most High; or lastly, by such who never did or do concern themselves in such enquiries, but effect a pretend gallantry in *Galio's* indifferency, therefore remitting such as are further desirous of satisfaction, unto the debates and papers of these times, and especially unto the late large *Apology*, we shall only mention the steps and progress of the Lord's work, and our engagements therein, according to our first purpose.

In the beginning of the year 1638, great multitudes of people consisting of all ranks, being awakened by the arbitrary imposing of a Service-book, more corrupt in some things than that of *England*, and the book of canons, and the erecting and violent exercising of the high commission-court, to the perverting of the pure worship of God, the utter

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subverting of all regular government, and the confounding of all things divine and human, and the destroying of our civil liberties; and conceiving the true cause of all the abounding sins, and the imminent calamities of these times, to be the violation of the National Covenant, formerly thrice sworn in the land; they again most solemnly, with a very wonderful mixture of tears and joy, renew the same, almost in all parts of the land, with the addition above-mentioned, to forbear the practice and approbation of all innovations in worship, or corruptions in government, until the same should be lawfully determined; and that other of mutual defence and assistance, in the prosecution of the ends of that Covenant, against all sorts of persons whatsoever. And in *November* the same year, the general assembly at *Glasgow* determined anent the foresaid novations and corruptions, disproving and rejecting under these heads, the five articles of *Perth*, the government of the church by bishops, the erecting of Prelacy therein, and all the corruptions flowing therefrom, whereby the oath of the Covenant is clearly explained and purified.

In the year 1639, the Prelates being routed, run to court, stir up the king, *England* and *Ireland*, with all their friends and popish partakers in *Scotland*, against the faithful covenanters, as rebellious and seditious persons: but they having prepared for their own just defence, the Lord by his outstretched arm and power, dispelling all these menacing clouds and imminent storms, doth, by a pacification concluded, reduce a fair calm; the king therein agreeing, that an assembly and parliament shall be held, and that all matters respectively shall be therein determined. The assembly sitting in *August* thereafter, the king's commissioner being present and assenting, doth ratify the conclusions

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clusions of the last assembly at *Glasgow*, and the commissioner and secret council subscribe the Covenant, as it was then explained; and at the petition of the assembly, it is enacted to be again subscribed for the fifth time, by the body of the whole land. But no faith, honesty, nor honour binding the Prelates, and a court by them over-ruled; in the year 1640, the king and Prelates vigorously arm again, and prepare for a new war: But this intended war is composed by a new pacification, and in the mean time, the parliament (formerly adjourned until *June* 1640,) doth convene at the time appointed, and by their *fourth*, *fifth* and *sixth* acts fully establish presbyterial government; ratify the Covenant, with the addition and explanation of the assembly, and all acts made thereanent, and abrogate the estate of bishops, and all acts whatsoever made in their favours.

Thereafter, in the treaty ensuing the pacification, it is agreed that the acts past in the last parliament, with these to be made in the next session thereof, shall be published in the king's name, and have the strength of laws in all time coming: which treaty being closed, and the last session of the above mentioned parliament sitting in the month of *June* 1641, the king in person being present among them, and the oath of parliament (for maintenance of religion in purity as then established, and of the king's authority, and the peoples liberties, according to the Covenant; and for endeavouring by all just and humble means, of union and peace betwixt the three kingdoms) appointed to be taken by that, and all succeeding parliaments; being taken, by the second act thereof, superscribed by the king, and subscribed by the president, the foresaid treaty is amply and perpetually confirmed, and the whole articles thereof are ratified and recorded.

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Thus, by all the security, that either sacred oaths, or acts of lawful and authorized assemblies; ordinances of king and council; doubled and reiterated pacifications and treaties; acts of parliament enacted and re-enacted; the king's authority and consent being often and solemnly interposed, both by promise and hand-writ; and all that either religion, truth, faith, honour or honesty could devise or grant, these wicked Prelates are cast out of this church and kingdom, presbyterial government fully established, the pure worship of God, with his pure and powerful ordinances and ministry restored, and in the maintenance and pursuance of all these great blessings, the whole land, by many oaths and most solemn ties, engaged unto the Lord for ever.

By all which blessings, and the restoring of the Lord's own ordinances amongst us, as the work of the gospel and the kingdom of our Lord Jesus, in the conversion of many thousands, were greatly advanced; and the glory of God, in the abounding of true piety and flourishing of righteousness, did eminently shine amongst us; as the memory of these times in all such as fear God and love our Lord Jesus Christ doth sweetly testify, so all these great things were transacted, to the perpetual shame and confusion of all our calumnious adversaries, without any diminution of his majesty's just authority and greatness.

As the power and glory of the Lord was great in this land; so the splendor and fame thereof reaching unto other nations, it pleased the Lord thereby to provoke his people in *England*, at that time grievously groaning under the tyrannous yoke of Prelacy, and justly alarmed by the imminent fears of prevailing Popery, to set about and intend the like blessed reformation.

It doth not concern us, to reflect on the causes and beginnings of that war betwixt the king and parliament there, nor what were the transactions betwixt the two kingdoms in order to that aid and assistance given by *Scotland*, and how the same was managed: But this is certain, that, upon the representation of the most just and important grounds, of the maintenance of religion and liberty, against the prevailing power of Popery, Prelacy and tyranny in that kingdom of *England*; and their most instant and earnest desires for our help and assistance; and the most rational and clear motives of our own security, (the hazard and loss whereof had undoubtedly been the consequence of the Prelates victory there) this kingdom was induced in the year 1643, to enter into that sacred bond of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, never to be forgotten, containing no other articles than every one's sincere and constant endeavours, in their several places and callings, for the preservation of the reformed religion in this church, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government; the reformation of the same in *England* and *Ireland*, according to the word of God, and example of the best reformed churches; and the nearest conjunction and uniformity of all the three in truth, faith, and love; the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, error and profanity; the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, and of the king's person and authority in defence of the true religion, and the kingdom's liberties; the discovery and punishment of incendiaries; the retaining of the peace and union of the kingdoms; the mutual assistance and defence of all entering into this League; and the performing of all duties we owe to God, in the amendment of our lives, and in walking exemplarily one before another: And all these in order to no other end, than the glory of God, the advancement of the king-
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dom of Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king and his posterity; and the true liberty, safety and peace of the kingdom.

This is that Covenant, which, in all the controversies it hath occasioned, did never receive a greater confirmation, than from the malice and opposition of its adversaries; who, in the same spirit, and with the same spite, have always persecuted and reproached it, with the same calumnies of rebellion, sedition and blood, which from the beginning, the devil hath ever been most active to raise and stir up against the Lord Jesus, his gospel, kingdom and followers. But seeing such only as are blessed, do evite the offence of truth; and all who truly do seek God's glory, or love the Lord Jesus, did and still do heartily approve and embrace this Covenant: though it had brought the sword not only into *Britain*, but, with the truth, into all the earth: though it were reproached as unfriend not only to our king; but, with our Lord Jesus, to *Cæsar*, and all the kings of the earth: though, it had divided and disturbed, not only realms and states; but, with the gospel, families and nearest relations: and, had with *Paul*, moved sedition throughout the whole world, we ought not thereby to be either shaken or offended. We know also, that all the subtilty and malice of hell have been set on work, and spared no calumny or cavillation, by which either its words, matter or manner might be impugned: But these are so often and fully answered, and, without the assistance of any man's patrociny, by the obvious plainness of its phrase, the holiness and importance of its purpose, and the justice and necessity of its way and manner, so clearly confuted, that nothing can be added. Only seeing the constancy of truth ought not to cede to the confidence of prevailing powers,

as we have aſſerted and do hold, the ſubject-matter of this League and Covenant to be in itſelf holy, juſt and true; ſo we cannot but diſprove the dangerous method of ſome, who, the better to enforce the obligation of the oath of God, do ſuppoſe the matter thereof, eſpecially as to that article againſt Prelacy, to be antecedently indifferent, and not determined either by the word of God, or any other moral precept: Juſtly apprehending how eaſily in this light and backſliding time, ſuch ſuppoſitions may become poſitions; and that the obligation of the oath of God, now ſo much violated and little regarded, may be found too weak to ſecure menſtedfaſtneſs. As we are therefore perſuaded, and would have all to conſider and fix it in their hearts, that this wicked Prelacy and its hierarchy, are not only contrary to the word of God, to the practice of the holy Apoſtles, to ſound doctrine and the power of godlineſs; (under which expreſs conſideration we are alſo ſworn to endeavour its extirpation) but by the ſad experience of all ages in the Chriſtian church, eſpecially in theſe our latter times, had been found moſt pernicious to all truth and righteouſneſs, and the main engine and device whereby the Devil hath always laboured to advance his kingdom of darkneſs; and therefore hath been the great butt and aim, for the overthrow whereof, the great work of God in this land, hath been ſo powerfully and gloriouſly manifested: ſo do we moſt conſtantly hold, that as well this article againſt Prelacy, as all the reſt contained in this holy Covenant, were and are antecedently obliging both to king and people, without the ſupervention of either oath or promiſe; and that the rooting out of Prelacy, and the wicked hierarchy therein ſo obviouſly deſcribed, is the main duty, in the endeavour whereof, (as moſt advantageous unto all theſe great
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and holy ends proposed by the Covenant) all the zeal of the faithful ought to be concentrated.

As for such profane jugglers, who neither considering this oath and Covenant as a special ordinance and blessing of God, whereby we are more effectually stirred up and enabled, to the performance of all the duties of religion and righteousness therein contained; nor knowing that this Covenant made with God, and accepted by him, is also the Lord's covenant with us, for the securing and establishing unto us all the great blessings and privileges therein expressed, and that as we therein do avouch the Lord to be our God, so doth he avouch us to be his people, do from the righteousness and necessity of its matter, vainly argue the superfluity of any accessory obligation; and would thence infer, that the same may be the more easily dispensed with or renounced: we do only remit them to that solemn Covenant, *Deut. xxix. 10. &c.* made there betwixt the Lord and his people, and thereafter so often renewed, only for their greater engagement to the most necessary duties of God's express commands.

We come in the next place, unto the manner and form of this League and Covenant; wherein, not purposing to resume the many debates that have been raised anent it, we shall only take notice, that these old acts and laws, *viz. Act 43. Parl. 6. of Mary 1555. and Act 12th Parl. 10. James VI. 1585.* made against Leagues and Bands contracted without the king's consent, are now obtruded with the force and lustre of a new Act, *chap. 4. of the last Parliament*, to condemn the Covenant, as from the beginning unlawful and rebellious: But as these old acts, at the time of the entering into this League and Covenant, did then stand explained by the *29th Act, Parl. 2. Charl. I.* ratified and authorized by the king himself, in a sense most con-

sistent with the Covenant, and could no ways render the same from the beginning unlawful, much less could the revival thereof in their greatest rigor, or the superveniency of any other act thereanent, dissolve the sacred obligation of this oath once lawfully contracted; so the reason of the former answer made to this objection, and the justice and equity of that *Act 29. Parl. 2. Char. I.* whereby the same was declared, remaineth in full force, *viz. That no league nor bond made by the subjects for maintenance of religion, liberty, and the publick good of church or state, was or can be understood, to be prohibited by these old acts and laws objected.* Because, as the makers of such bonds, cannot be reputed to be movers of sedition, to the breach of the publick peace, (which is the expresse reason and certification of these old acts objected) so both the king and his government, being appointed for the preservation of these great ends and interests, and he himself principally obliged, both by the command and oath of God upon him, to authorize all such bonds, covenants, and other means which may advance the same; it were a gross paradox, both in reason and religion, that the king's neglect of his duty, and perverting of his office, to the overthrow of these ends, for which he is ordained, should therefore oblige the people to a sinful compliance and stupid connivance, to the high dishonour of the great God and King of kings, and the utter ruin of souls, bodies, and fortunes of themselves and their posterity. It is true, it may be and is replied, that this answer and reasoning, doth proceed from an unjust jealousy of kings, and is founded upon an intolerable presumption in the subject, to censure and judge their actings: But seeing the entering into this Covenant, and into all others which we allow, was so far from proceeding upon

An unjust jealousy, that, on the contrary, it was in a manner extorted, by the force of the most palpable and rational necessity that can be imagined; and seeing the feeling and discerning thereof, is so far from that criminal presumption alledged, that to disprove it, is in effect to deny both sense and reason, unless our adversaries can prove, that, notwithstanding thereof, the king is by God the Lord, vested with such an uncontrollable dominion and sovereignty, that whatever violence, outrage, or cruelty he commit, the people are obliged by a patience, or rather stupidity, greater than that of beasts, to endure without gain saying, it is impossible for them to establish the tyranny that they contend for. But that the world may see, that such objections are only the wicked flattery of selfish men, and how little they do therein either use or regard reason, in the late act above-mentioned made against leagues and conventions, it is declared, That the explication contained in the act 1640. *viz. That such leagues and conventions as are made by subjects, for the preservation of the king, religion, and the laws, are not prohibited by these old acts*, is false and disloyal, and contrary to the true and genuine meaning thereof; which declaration is not only a naked assertion, and contrary to the express reason and certification of these old acts, which is before set down; but so blind and irrational, that in case of an *interregnum*, or the incapacity of the king, to give his consent to any bond, meeting or convention, which in such a case may be absolutely necessary, it leaves no issue or expedient.

It is not needful here to clear the necessity and advantages, which may induce subjects to the making of leagues and conventions in certain cases, without the consent of the prince; nor the exigence of these times for the Covenant we plead for:

for: these things are cleared by undeniable records, which, all the wars, blood and confusions that thereafter ensued, (flowing either from the perverse and obstinate opposition, violence, and persecution of the enemies of truth, or being the effect of God's righteous judgment upon such whose hearts were false, and proved unstedfast in his Covenant,) notwithstanding all the present insulting of the adversaries; doth nothing disprove. Neither do we here resume the above mentioned practices of our first reformers, for justifying the case in hand, and the explication of these old acts here obtruded; who, by all their necessary leagues, bands and conventions, never conceived the same to be contravened: only we cannot but regret, that, as the act made in the last *Parliament* against conventions and bonds, was a fearful step of the present great apostacy, and directly levelled against the same Covenant, by which the authors of the acts themselves were and are indissolubly obliged; so that old act, *Parl. 10. James VI. chap. 12. 1585.* which is thereby ratified and revived, was also one of the woful acts and effects of the wickedness that then prevailed in the land, and doth relate to, and is expressly founded upon the *43d Act, Queen Mary, Parl. 6. 1555,* which, under the colour of discharging bonds of man-rent, was, by the queen regent, then raging in persecution against the professors of the truth, directly intended for the overthrow of the gospel and congregation.

We have hitherto only justified the lawfulness, or rather the necessity of the Covenant; as a league amongst *subjects* without the princes consent, and have not spoken thereto as a league with *England*, and the subjects of another kingdom: because, as the first point is mainly denied by the adversary;

so the same being proven, upon the same grounds, (*first*, of just and necessary defence of ourselves, religion and liberties; *secondly*, of the assistance that we owe and do expect in case of persecution for the truth, from all Christians, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, the obedience of his new and special command of love, and the remembrance of that great and last judgment, wherein by this law, all men shall be judged, without respect to the difference of nations and kingdoms; and *thirdly*, upon the ground of the glory of God, which is the great end of all things, and to which all inferior duties of submission and obedience ought to cede) the justice and necessity of the Covenant and league with *England* may be certainly concluded. O! that men, who weighing all things in the balance of their own selfish interests and designs, do make the vain and airy enjoyment of court favour, and the evanishing possession of such advantages, as may be acquired thereby, preponderate and cast the scales, in the prejudice of these great and important concerns of the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord Jesus, might yet be awakened by the terror of that dreadful and glorious judgment of the last day; to an impartial consideration of that duty, which we owe to all these that suffer and are persecuted for truth. Surely if not visiting, nor relieving and supporting, when it is in our power, of the afflicted members of Jesus Christ, shall then be the condemnation of the reprobate, (against which the exception of a contrary command of any king or prince, or that the afflicted were by men for truth's sake declared rebels and traitors, or were of another kingdom, shall furnish no defence) can we in conscience think, that the refusal of assistance to the persecuted for Christ's sake, when instantly thereto required, shall
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be, upon any of these pretended grounds, excused in that day?

We do not here mention the supervenient consent and authority of the king, by which the alleged defects, to the acknowledgment of all our adversaries, were clearly purged: Because, though the same will afterwards fall in, as a great accession to the conviction of all apostates, yet, we bless the Lord, who hath bottomed our faith and consciences upon more sure and fixed foundations; and who gave his people more evident and gracious testimonies of his favour, power and presence, while they sincerely walked conform to the grounds mentioned, before the king's assent was obtained, than ever since.

The entering into, and taking of this Covenant, was so much the more necessary and praiseworthy in us in *Scotland*, for several reasons; 1. Because it contains no other than the same duties and obligations, which were before by us so solemnly covenanted to in our National Covenant; neither is the restriction of our allegiance, supposed to be made therein, any other than the true and righteous qualifications of all such engagements, most consonant unto and approved by our first large Confession of Faith, *chap. xxv.* anent the civil magistrate; the king's coronation oath recorded, *James VI. page 1. chap. 8.* and the National Covenant, as it was taken, and subscribed both first and last: And though our adversaries have insulted upon the latter Confession of Faith, as if both our former principles and practices were thereby disproved; yet let the words be considered, viz. *Infidelity or difference in religion doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from due obedience*; and we are confident, that no sober man will think the acknowledgment of just
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and legal authority and, due obedience, a rational ground, to infer that tyranny over either consciences or persons, is thereby either allowed or privileged; which is all that by us is contended for.

2. Because the same National Covenant did powerfully oblige us thereunto: not only upon the account of that obstinate opposition, which the perfidious Prelates in *England*, both by raising wars, and breach of pacification, had plainly testified; the revival whereof, in case of any probable capacity, we had just reason to apprehend, and by a posterior league, (at that time a most necessary and probable remedy,) in pursuance of our former engagement to provide against; but also in respect of that express ground of opposition to the bloody bond of *Trent*, and of the detestation of all the enemies of God's church, who thereby conjured themselves against it, contained in the National Covenant: which could not but be a very fair persuasion and strong inductive, to engage in that sacred bond of the Solemn League and Covenant, against the same accursed conjuration, which at that time appeared so active.

3. Because the oath of parliament, first taken in the parliament 1641, the king being present, obliging us to endeavour *the preservation of the peace and union of the three kingdoms*, did indispensibly oblige us to enter into this Covenant, as a most necessary expedient thereto.

Having thus summarily reviewed, both the matter and manner of this solemn and important League and Covenant, we cannot but wonder at the poor sophistry of such (especially that more temporizing than *seasonable* casuist) who delude themselves in so great matters, unto such an indifferency, as to assert, That this Covenant doth as necessarily depend upon the king's consent for its establishment,

stablishment, as the private vow of a daughter in her father's house, or of a wife under her husband's power, in things free and arbitrary, though not absolutely in their own disposal, did, according to the judicial law of the *Jews*, fall under the father and husband's power of ratifying or annulling: But the simple proposal of these cases doth hold out such a disparity, both as to the persons, (being only women under power) the things in themselves, being free, but at anothers disposal, and many other circumstances tedious to insist on, and even as to law itself, by which the case is determined, being merely judicial, that none who fear the Lord, or mind his glory in any measure of sobriety, will deign it with an answer. And such indeed are the rest of the cavils and calumnies, wherewith the adversaries of truth have endeavoured to impugn and asperse this holy Covenant; and are so fully and often answered already, that to account them worthy the resuming and refuting, were, in some sort, after vows to make inquiry.

There is one thing that our adversaries have frequently objected, which we cannot omit, *viz.* That the Covenants, both National and Solemn League, were urged and pressed, both by church-censures and civil sanctions, of loss of goods, sequestration, and other arbitrary pains, which hath been heavily complained of, as a great violence done to conscience: But as it was then too evident, that this priviledge of conscience, was for the most part only pretended by such, as had little or no feeling thereof; so the practice of the present times, doth now fully discover, that what is now so insolently retorted, was never before really scrupled at. But the lawfulness of the course and practice then used, and the iniquity of this retor-
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tion, will easily be cleared, if it be considered,
 1. That the National Covenant, being a standing and binding oath upon the whole land, and in the year 1638, only renewed with such an agreeable explanation, as none could or did quarrel, but such as thereby intended, to palliate and persist in their preceeding manifest violations, was according to the example of good *Josiah* (who brought back the people, and CAUSED *them stand to the covenant of their fathers*, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 32.) most justly commanded, and under the pains due to the breach thereof, ordained to be re-taken. 2. That the Solemn League and Covenant, containing no other obligations, than what the National doth import; and being a most conduible expedient, both for the securing and prosecuting the ends thereof, and whereunto the National Covenant upon this ground did clearly oblige, the pressing of the same League, is warranted, not only by the former ground, but from the very bond of the National, became an indispensable duty: By which reasons, as the former proceedings are clearly justified, so the present practice, (as being a direct and violent reversing of these things, which were once so righteously and rationally established) is the more condemned. But whatever be the disparity of these cases in the point of reason, we are sure that light and darkness do not more differ, than the lenity of these former times, from the rigour and violence now practised; and that where one then suffered for obstinacy against the Covenant, hundreds do now suffer for their steadfastness therein.

As for these wars and great commotions, that ensued upon this great transaction of the Solemn League, we will not thereon insist: only we are confident, that notwithstanding all the calumnious

ous constructions of our adversaries, all such as seek out and have pleasure in the works of the Lord, will applaud, unto the glory and righteousness thereof, who, as by the sword of apostates in the years 1644 and 1645, he did punish, in his justice, the hypocrisy and self-seeking of such in this land, whose hearts were not upright in his covenant, and thereafter in the year 1648, did, by a prevailing sectarian party, restrain and crush the gross and general apostacy then intended, under an hypocritical pretext of pursuing the ends of the Covenant, at that time so palpably perverted and abused; so, for the manifestation of his own glory, and of his mercy to them that fear him, and did not forget his Covenant, he did intermix several gracious intervals of his abundant compassion; and at length did give unto his work and people, a full and absolute victory over that malignant spirit and party, that had so long prevailed in the land, and caused the wickedness of the wicked to cease, and all iniquity to stop its mouth.

Thus in the years 1649, and 1650, and thereafter, the Lord was with us while we were with him, and while we fought him, he was found of us; but as we did forsake him, so did he also forsake us: by which position, all the mixture and varieties, both of our actings, and God's providences in these times, may clearly be resolved.

There was indeed at that time in the land, not only a party faithful unto God, and zealous for his name; but also a great zeal of God, from clear knowledge and sad experience, generally and solemnly professed before God and all men in our public acknowledgment *anno* 1649; in consequence whereof, the League and Covenant was also by the whole kingdom renewed that same year. And in answer thereunto, the Lord did mightily both save
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and defend us from all our adversaries: and as he soon subdued our enemies at *Stirling*, and turned his hand against our adversaries in the *North*, and caused the haters of the Lord feign submission unto him; so, for his own glory, the establishment of his people, and the utter confusion of his adversaries, he did highly advance his blessed work, by the accession of all these advantages, with the defect whereof, it had been formerly calumniated.

The advantages we here mention are (besides that public acknowledgment then made, and in the deep sense thereof, the League and Covenant solemnly again renewed and taken, whereby our engagements were not only doubled, but strongly confirmed) 1. These many necessary and righteous laws enacted in the then parliament, both for the ratifying the latter large Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, agreed unto by both kingdoms, and for the restraining and coercing of impiety and blasphemy, the encouragement of the ministry, and for the promoting of godliness. Amongst which acts, that of abolishing *patronages*, deserveth a more special and commendable remembrance: Not only because of the many woful effects and abuses of patronage, as it then was (and now is) exercised, whereby frequently godly men, and in some measure qualified for the work of the ministry were, and are, unjustly restrained from labouring therein; many congregations needlessly continued desolate, without a fixed ministry; many naughty men and utterly insufficient, at the sole arbitrement of patrons, violently obtruded upon the people, without and against their own consent; presbyteries constrained (contrary to the rule of the holy Scriptures) to ordain men, whom the people neither choosed, nor could cheerfully receive; foundations of prejudice

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and strife, betwixt pastor and people laid, where by the one cannot preach, nor the other hear with profit; symoniacal pactions often basely made betwixt patrons and the persons presented, to the disgrace of the holy calling, as well as to the sin and shame of the persons; and the ministry of too many, in dispensing of word, sacraments and censures, made to depend too much upon the will and pleasure of man: But also, because it hath no precept in the word of God, nor example in the old *Jewish*, nor new primitive and pure Christian church, to warrant it; because, intentionally and natively it spoileth the people of that right and privilege, in electing their own pastors, which scripture and reason alloweth: And because, being the patron's (pretended) heritage, and therefore, by him vendible to whom he pleaseth, the whole and sole power of presenting of ministers, planting of churches, preaching of the gospel, and settling maintenances, may be turned over unto, and put into the hands of men, not only profane and strangers to both church and commonwealth, but also professed enemies to the truth, yea, even Papists or Pagans. And therefore, (being in itself a grievous and unwarrantable burden; destructive of the church and peoples liberties; obstructive of the free course of the gospel; the freedom, power and plainness of the ministry; and occasional of much base flattery, and partiality, under which, from the very times of superstition which introduced it, the church did heavily groan) it must needs be so much the greater blessing to be delivered from it.

The second advantage which the Lord's work received, was by that great and long transaction with the king in order to his return, and admission to the government; which at length, after repeated

peated addresses, many treaties, and the interposing of foreign states and princes, produced the king's approbation and allowance of the National and Solemn League and Covenant: Which both by his great oath unto the most high God, and his hand-writ and subscription, he most amply assured, promising in the same manner, to advance and prosecute their ends, and to seek and procure the establishment thereof, and of presbyterial government, and of the whole work of God in all his dominions. We know our adversaries, persisting in their old malice, disown and exclaim upon this transaction, as most disloyal and insolent, for subjects (whose part is only to surrender and submit) to require and enter into treaties with their prince. But, 1. As these reproaches are from the same wicked spirit, false grounds, and base and carnal ends, which from the very times of Popery, have resisted, and been objected against the work of reformation in this land; so do we thereto oppose (in full assurance before God and all the world) these solid and evident reasons and warrants, whereby not only these treaties and transactions with the late king, but all these old contracts and agreements betwixt the then powers and people, (which in some sort, are the very foundation of the Protestant religion in this realm) are justified and approved: wherein if there be any disparity, the difference of a king upon his throne actually exercising, from a prince only ascending thereto, must cast the advantage on our side.

2. Seeing there is no voluntary kingdom, which is not both erected, sustained, and continued by a fundamental contract, and no right thereto so good (though even that of *David* himself and his posterity, who held the kingdom, both by immediate grant, and interposed oath of the Most High)

which is not settled and confirmed by this agreement, 2 Sam. v. 3. 2 Kings xi. 17. can any rational man disprove or condemn *treaties* so naturally antecedent or previous thereto? 3. The reason and necessity of this treaty is dependent upon the the preceeding war with the last king, in which, as well as in his kingdoms, this king did succeed him; that, seeing it can have no opposers but such as therein were enemies, we willingly refer both the cases to the determinations of the same reasons. And as for such, who, asserting the Covenant, and the Long Parliament's war, do nevertheless disprove our procedure in this treaty, as their misinformation doth not prejudice the truth; so neither are we answerable for their inconsequence.

The third advantage which the Lord gave his work, was, by what the king did after his arrival in Scotland, both before and at his coronation, for the greater confirmation of the Covenant and work of God, and the more strong engaging of himself and this whole land unto the Lord. Before his coronation, he emitteth that declaration at *Dumfermling*, sufficiently known by this designation, wherein *professing, and appearing in the full persuasion and love of the truth, he repenteth (as having to do with and in the sight of God) his father's opposition to the Covenant and work of God, and his own reluctancies against the same, hoping for mercy thro' the blood of Jesus Christ, and obtesting the prayers of the faithful to God, for his steadfastness: and then protesteth his truth and sincerity in entering into the oath of God, resolving to prosecute the ends of the Covenant to his utmost, and to have with it the same common friends and enemies, exhorting all to lay down their enmity against the cause of God, and not to prefer man's interest to God's, which will prove an idol of jealousy to provoke the Lord, and he him-*

self accounteth it to be but selfish flattery; and so proceedeth in the most cordial, sincere, and assuring terms, to testify his love and zealous resolutions for God, his people and Covenant, and on the other hand, his great dislike and detestation of all persons, courses and interests contrary thereto. A declaration so full of heart professions, and high attestations of the great God, that none seriously considering the present times, can reflect thereon without horror and trembling from the holy jealousy of the Lord, either for the then deep dissimulation, or the present unparalleled apostacy. However, seeing the same is so assertive, that no words could add to its assurance, nor no argument less than the present apostacy, render it to any neutral person, suspected of the least dissimulation; sure we are, that the generality of the kingdom, did thereby obtain all the warrant of the king's must full and clear assent to, and allowance of the Covenant, that either law or reason could require. Thereafter at his coronation, how the king did again confirm the Covenant, and both he and his people thereby again engage themselves unto the Lord, the order thereof printed and published to the world doth fully declare. In which, these passages are very observable. 1. That the king is desired in name of the people, jointly to *accept the crown, and maintain religion* ACCORDING TO THE NATIONAL and SOLEMN LEAGUE and COVENANT to which he declareth his cordial assent, *wishing no longer to live, than he might see religion and this kingdom flourish in all happiness.* 2. After a sermon most pertinentiy, plainly and powerfully preached upon that, 2 Kings xi. 12, and 17. (wherein amongst other things, the binding power and force of the Oath of God, and the hazards of the breach thereof are fully represented) the ac-

tion commenceth with the king's most solemn renewing of the National and Solemn League and Covenant, which was in this manner The king kneeling, and lifting up his right hand, before the the three estates of the kingdom, the commissioners of the general assembly, and the whole people and congregation, *by his great oath in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of hearts, he assur-eth and declareth his allowance of the NATIONAL COVENANT, and SOLEMN LEAGUE and COVENANT, promising faithfully to prosecute the ends thereof, and to establish the same with the Presbyterial Government and the whole work of God, in all his dominions.* 3. That, having thus taken the Covenants, the king is presented to the people, and their willingness, to have him for their king, demanded; which they accordingly declare. 4. That he did also swear and take the coronation oath appointed and recorded, *Parl. 1. James VI. Chap. 8.* to which both the Covenants are most consonant, *promising by the Eternal and Almighty GOD, who liveth and reigneth for ever, to observe and keep the same.* 5. That when the sword was put in his hand, he is desired to receive the same *for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, and of the true religion,* according to the National and Solemn League and Covenant, *and for the ministration of justice;* which he accordingly accepteth. 6. After the crown is set upon his head, the people's obligatory oath is proclaimed, *whereby they all swear by the Eternal and Almighty GOD, who liveth and reigneth for ever, to be true and faithful to the king,* according to the National and Solemn League and Covenant. 7. Being installed and set upon the throne, he is exhorted by the minister to remember, *That his throne is the Lord's throne, 1 Chr. xxix. 23. And being a covenanted king set thereon,*
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he ought, under God, to rule for God, and especially to beware, that he made not the Lord's throne, a throne of iniquity, to frame mischief by a law, even such mischievous laws as have been enacted by his predecessors, destructive to religion, and grievous to the Lord's people. 8. The nobles of the land, being called one by one, and kneeling before the king on the throne, and holding their hand betwixt his hands, did swear by the Eternal and Almighty G O D, who liveth and reigneth for ever, to be true and faithful to the king, according to the National and Solemn League and Covenant. 9. The action is closed by a most solid and weighty exhortation, both to king and people to keep the Covenant, and beware of the breach of it; which is enforced by these fearful threatenings and instances recorded in the Scriptures of truth, against covenant-breakers, particularly these, *Nehem. v. 13.* where *Nehemiah* did shake his lap, saying, *So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not this promise, even thus be he shaken out and emptied, and all the congregation said, Amen. Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19, 20, 21.* And *2 Chron. xxiv. 23, 24, 25.* With this pathetic application, *That if they should break the Covenant, God would shake off the king's crown, and turn him from the throne; that he would shake the nobles out of their possessions, and empty them of their glory; and would deliver both into the hands of their enemies who seek their life; that breach of covenant and rebellion against God, was an old and continued sin in the king's house, which God had already severely punished: if therefore the king should not acknowledge Jesus Christ King in Zion, who is above him, but break this Covenant, God's controversy against the king's family would be carried on unto the weakening, if not the overthrow of it.* And lastly, both

the king and nobles are certified, *That if the king and they who are engaged to support his crown, shall conspire together against the kingdom of Jesus Christ, both the supporters and the supported will fall together.* This is that great action, wherein almost all the solemnities are so twisted with that sacred Bond, that the world must acknowledge, that never king and people under the sun, became so expressly and strictly obliged, both unto God, one to another, and among themselves, as we were and are by these most sacred oaths of the holy Covenants, most indissolubly engaged.

The fourth and last advantage, was that pleary and last complement of all securities whatsoever among men, *viz.* The ratification of all these preceeding treaties, transactions, engagements and actions, concluded and enacted by the king, then having attained the age of twenty-one years complete, and the parliament fully and freely convened in the month of *June 1651*, whereby the same did pass into a perpetual law: And this Covenant, which from the beginning was, and is, the most firm and indispensible oath of God, became at length the very fundamental law of the kingdom, whereon all the rights and privileges either of king or people, are principally bottomed and secured.

This is the fair side of the transactions and providences of these times, and the effects of the Lord's favourable presence, and the consequence of that zeal which we have mentioned. O! that we had sincerely minded, and walked agreeably to all these engagements; surely our times should have endured for ever: but seeing both our own backslidings, and the Lord's withdrawing from us, do evidently testify against us, let us ascribe righteousness unto our God, that in the remembrance of all these
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jūdgments wherewith he hath punished us less than our iniquities deserve, we may not only take unto ourselves shame and confusion of face, because we have sinned against him, and thereby stop the mouth of all these blasphemies and boastings of the adversaries of the Lord, and his holy Covenant, which our backslidings have so widely opened; but in the thoughts of his faithfulness be encouraged to hope in his mercy, and for the return of our departed glory, altho' we have rebelled against him.

The principal step of our defection, and the only rise and cause of all our sin and calamity, we acknowledge to have been no other, than that which is the condemnation of the world, that light indeed came unto us, but we loved darkness better than light, because our deeds were evil. For the Lord did cause his gospel to shine amongst us, in as great power and purity as ever any nation enjoyed, and by the advantages of his own holy ministry and government, and the accession of our manifold covenants and engagements, did beautify and secure the same unto us: and though that after a long continuance of all these blessings, the Lord, by the ascendent power of his own Spirit and glorious presence, did bring the whole land under these great convictions, mentioned in the conclusion of the League and Covenant, *of our not valuing the inestimable benefit of the gospel, nor endeavouring to receive Christ in our hearts, and walk worthy of him in our lives*; the only duty and end of our covenants and engagements, which is in effect God's greatest delight and glory in the world, and all our felicity; and unto these, unfeigned resolutions there annexed, of *repentance and amendment*. And lastly, though the Lord from heaven had both plagued us for, and purged us from these fearful apostacies and defections, whereby men of corrupt minds, not holding

holding the Head and End of all things, even our Lord Jesus, were both in the year 1645, and 1648, soon turned aside from their stedfastness in the Covenant, and became enemies unto God's own work and cause, and had therefore stirred us up to the renewing of our Covenant with God, in the year 1648, with and after a most solemn acknowledgment, both of the causes and evils of these defections, and a most serious detestation of, and resolution against both; notwithstanding, we say, of all these things, yet the great sin and evil of not valuing, receiving, and walking worthy of our Lord Jesus, and the not directing and improving the great blessings of his gospel, ordinances, covenants, victories, and all other benefits and enjoyments bestowed on us, for the promoting of the pleasure of our Lord, and the establishing of his kingdom; for the salvation of sinners did still remain. Thence was it, that the general and great zeal which then appeared, was so suddenly contracted to a very few, and much remitted in all: and that mens corruptions, turning former professions into feigned pretensions, and causing many (in place of the great and only end proposed) to mind selfish designs, and worldly advantages, the Lord was provoked to give up some to the prosecution of these base desires, unto which they had so quickly backslidden; and to abandon others to the delusion of an overcredulous charity: which two evils did so far prevail in all the transactions of these times, that tho' the over-ruling providence of the Most High, did bring forth thereof the advantages which we have already mentioned; yet were men thereby acted to pursue treaties, over the belly of most signal warnings and most pregnant dissuatives to the contrary, and to conclude agreements, and accept of securities, in the great matters of God, and of his work

work so long contended for, and far advanced, which no rational man, not preferring airy words and professions, and ink subscriptions, to plain refusal, visible reluctancies, manifest resiliings, open counter-actings, and strong and continued prejudices, would be satisfied with, in his own private matters of almost the meanest concernment. But though the Lord from heaven did at *Dumber*, testify against both this evil and sinful course, and the great sin and wickedness that had procured it, and thereafter by many of his faithful servants, did give express testimony and warning against the same, yet it is still persisted in: And notwithstanding that by a new discovery, after all the assurance contained in the declaration at *Dumfermling* that could be imagined, the Lord did make it evident at *Glova*, that all these condescensions were only the restraints of policy; the backslidings and delusions of these times did proceed, until, that under a pretence of necessity, preferring the arm of flesh to the almighty power and favour of the Most High, and through the persuasion of a *mock-repentance*, only agreeable unto that *mock-treaty* whereon it depended, we were induced again, to break the Lord's commandment and our own engagement, in joining with the people of these abominations; to provoke the Lord to be angry, until he should consume us utterly without a remnant or escaping; and by partaking of their sins, became apt and ready to partake of their judgments, which the Lord, by the hand of the *treacherous*, did suddenly inflict upon us for all our treachery: and thereby, according to his righteousness and great faithfulness, as he had brought upon us the blessing; so he also brought upon us the curse of his holy Covenant, and the fears of our own acknowledgment.

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These were our forsakings and backslidings, which provoked the Lord also to forsake us, and at length to give us over unto, and leave us in the hands of our enemies; and to lay on our necks that long and heavy yoke of foreign usurpation, under which, from the year 1651, unto the year 1660, we did so grievously groan. The remembrance of which things, doth necessarily oblige us to the declaration of these things.

1. That as we desire heartily to resume these professions of unfeigned humiliation, for the undervaluing of the precious gospel and slighting of our Lord Jesus Christ, contained in our holy Covenant, wherein all the land without exception are and were so deeply concerned; so, although in the narration of the procedure of our sinful and woful defection, the particular passages of self-seeking and over-credulous delusion, may import a narrower restriction; yet, the Lord is our witness, that the pure motive of his glory, and the honour and truth of his work and covenant, without prejudice to the persons of any, far less of such, whom we are persuaded the Lord both did, and yet doth honour, to be instrumental in his work, and faithful in his covenant, (though neither in the former practice, or this present persuasion, we do agree) have induced us to this reflection: which we earnestly obtest, may be looked upon by all, rather as the matter of our mourning than of our censure.

2. That whatever love and sincere respect we retain for such of the faithful, who, through the holy and wise permission of the sovereign Lord, by the influence of particular temptations, or of that general and powerful snare of an evil time, were carried on to a sinful compliance with the evil courses thereof; yet we are persuaded, that the remitting of that zeal, sincerity and steadfastness, whereunto, in
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our solemn acknowledgment, upon the most powerful motives, we had then lately so seriously engaged ourselves; and the more politic than pious management of these treaties and transactions; (wherein the advancement of the work of God, and prosecution of the ends of the Covenant so highly pretended, could not sincerely and zealously be intended, by any imaginary security or sinful assistance thereby obtained) but especially the relapsing unto that most sinful conjunction with the people of these abominations, so solemnly and lately repented for, and resolved against, (which, instead of being salved, was, by the constrained, politic, dissembled, and formal repentance then used, to the mocking of the God of truth, and scorn of all our holy engagements, on all hands mostly aggravated and exaggerated) these evils, we say, were the very foundations of this present apostacy, and the grounds of the Lord's controversy, which hath so long, and yet doth so grievously pursue this poor church and nation. O! that all men would yet at length, after all the evils and warnings which God hath sent amongst us, seriously consider their ways, take unto themselves shame, and give unto God the glory, before the decree bring forth our utter destruction and desolation. Who knoweth but the Lord would repent himself for his servants, when he seeth our power is gone, and return on high for his own glory, and the congregation of the poor, that compass him about, and render vengeance unto all his adversaries?

3. That neither the failing nor backsliding of many of the faithful, nor the wicked hypocrisy and dissimulation practised on the other hand, in the carrying on, and concluding of these treaties, whereby the king was brought under the bond of the holy Covenant, doth lessen or annul his obligation

on thereto; far less the security, which the people, especially such who know not these depths of Satan, did obtain thereby, for their warrant and confirmation: surely the greatest aggravation of perjury, cannot annul the sacred obligation of an oath; nor an intended falshood, loose the bond of truth; nor will vile dissimulation, and the most fearful mocking of God and the whole world, deliver from his holy justice and jealousy who is a terrible and swift witness against, and avenger of all such abominations. Did the wicked dissimulation and rebellious heart of the children of *Israel*, wherewith they entered in Covenant with the Lord, *Deut. xxix. 10. to 28.* liberate them from the sin of apostacy, and all these fearful plagues threatened against it? Did not that dissimulate promise and engagement of the remnant of the *Jews*, made to *Jeremiah, chap. xlii. 20.* rather hasten and aggravate the punishment of their disobedience, *v. 21. and 22.* All who love truth or fear an oath, do no doubt abhor such wickedness.

But the main objection is, That all these concessions were extorted by force and fear, which doth excuse the dissimulation, and annul the oath. We shall not here insist to clear and refute this cavillation, which others have so fully answered: For as to the position, *That neither force nor fear, do cause to cease the obligation of an oath in a matter merely indifferent, much less, holy, righteous and true*, (as the matter of the Covenant is) all yield. But that neither force, fear, nor any other indirect way can be alledged for the annulling of these engagements, both the preceeding treaties, the just and necessary reasons, and all other circumstances, do most evidently confirm; so that the whole world may justly wonder, that these

these men, who both in profession and practice, do plainly evidence their profane indifferency, and regardless violation of all oaths, wherein interest concur, should, by the manifest patronizing of all perfidy (whereof no instance can be adduced in the breach of any treaty, wherein the stronger and weaker did ever compose any matter of right, which is not more justifiable) and the shameful disgracing of the king himself, whom neither conscience, honour, honesty, nor the example of his father, could teach the constancy of the most mean and abject of his subjects, should plead and pretend to rational pretext for the present apostacy; and not rather content themselves, to say with the king in one of his declarations, emitted shortly after his return to England, *That it is well known by what abusive means his majesty was adduced to make and publish that declaration at Dunfermline, without any more special condescendence, which is impossible.* But oh! that the world did also know and consider all the re-iterated oaths and subscriptions, high and solemn attestations, free and unrequired professions, fearful execrations, made before God, angels and men, both in public, upon the throne, under the crown, in plain parliament, and also in private conferences, which many yet alive can sufficiently attest; by which this poor church and nation was insnared, and precipitated into all the sin and misery, that since the year 1650, unto this day, hath afflicted us. However, the Lord, who seeth and heareth, doth also consider, to require it, and the violence done to himself in many of his suffering members, who partly even in the conscience of the very things, which they that are mostly therein concerned, do mock at, dare not prostitute their consciences in an ambulatory compliance with the wicked apostacy in these times.

4. We cannot but observe, that after the prevailing, and during the time of the *English Usurpation*, these only, for the most part, remained mindful of, and faithful to the king, who were faithful and stedfast in the Covenant; when as these, who formerly did, and at present do pretend so highly for the king, in prejudice both of Jesus Christ, and the holy Covenant, did, in their slavish compliance, abandon all allegiance and honesty, to complement the then powers, for the promoting of their own selfish designs, which is the only bond of all their actions. And though many of them do now pretend to have been sufferers; yet it is well known, that if they had had the half of these temptations, which the faithful, upon the account of their allegiance, did constantly resist, the king's interest, for their part, had been for ever forgotten, as it was by many of them openly renounced and abjured; and that the main reason of their then seeming pretended loyalty, was the improbability of credit with, and acceptance from the usurpers, because of their known naughtiness.

Having thus declared the Lord's great work and glorious presence amongst us, in all these mercies and judgments which he shewed upon us, and these strange vicissitudes and alternations, sometimes of his grace and power, engaging us with heart and hand unto himself, sometimes of our own hearts wickedness and unstedfastness, again causing us to apostatize and backslide from his holy command and covenant, which, during the space of an hundred years from the year 1560, have in the holy and wise providence of God passed over us; that by all these great temptations, which our eyes have seen, and the signs and wonders he hath wrought, we might know, that the Lord is our God, and Jesus Christ our king; and that
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by all these things; he only went about to establish us for a peculiar people unto himself, in the glorious light of his truth, and beauty of his holiness, far exalted above many other nations. We are now come to the year 1660, wherein, tho' the Lord was pleased, according to his glorious sovereignty, by his own immediate hand, to break the yoke of our oppressors, restore our covenanted king, laws, and liberties; and to make all factions, parties and interests, not only to cede unto, but unanimously to conspire for this blessed restitution; yet how evidently hath it since appeared, that the Lord had not given unto us an heart to perceive, eyes to see, nor ears to hear, unto that very day.

We need not here resume the king's most solemn and indissoluble engagements, which we have so lately mentioned; nor add that after *Worcester* fight, and from beyond sea, he did confirm, by private letters, to persons of unquestionable credit, that he was, and through the grace of God would continue, the same man that he had declared himself to be in *Scotland*; nor that it was the conscience of that clause of the Covenant, relating to the maintenance of his person and authority, which during the times of usurpation, did retain the sense and love of his interest, so fresh and deeply rooted in mens hearts; nor that public owning, publishing and reprinting thereof by the then parliament in *England* in *March* 1660, was the first public act that durst or did appear in his favours; nor lastly, need we remember that letter written and directed by the king, after his return, to the presbytery of *Edinburgh*, and this whole church, wherein he declares himself resolved, by the grace of God, to protect and preserve the government of the church of *Scotland*, as it is settled by law, without violation; seeing that, tho' according to its then state and

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posture, such a solemn and public assurance might have been reputed a perpetual security; yet the whole strain of the letter is such, as tendeth only to divide the whole ministry, and to abuse the greater part of them: And particularly, the altering and suppressing of that most fixed and certain ground of his engagement, even the word of God and the holy Covenant, for that of *law*, which is but frail and moveable, did even then discover to many, that latent dissimulation and instability, whereby others were either weakly or willingly deluded. The thing we observe is, That both king and peoples obligations were not then greater, than the opportunity appeared to be most happy, for the accomplishing of the Lord's work, the making of his name great, and one, in all these nations, and these nations happy and high above all nations in name and in praise; and the establishing of the king and his posterity upon the throne in glory and prosperity; and that the owning of, and adhering unto the Solemn League and Covenant, our *magna charta* of religion and righteousness, had, both in the persuasion of all sober men, and even in the conviction of the greatest part of our adversaries, infallibly produced and effectuated all these blessings.

But oh! how suddenly and strangely was this blessed appearance overclouded, the expectation of all the godly disappointed, the joy and peace of all corrupted and marred, and this land reduced unto this present so woful desolation and sore distress, which, though the groans, tears, and the blood of the persecuted, the cry of violence and oppression, the desolation and profanation of God's sanctuary, the reigning power of darkness, the pride, rage and blasphemy of perjury and all profanity, which hath filled the land, and the dreadful wrath of the
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most holy and great God, which both burneth round about, and hangeth over it, do sufficiently make manifest; yet, for our greater upstirring, to consider and lay to heart, that all these evils are come upon us, because our God is not amongst us, and what the heat of this great anger meaneth; and also, for the clearing of the innocency and testimony of the Lord's sufferers, we do shortly exhibite the violent course of this precipitant defection.

The king being returned, and re-established in May 1660, the antichristian spirit of Prelacy, ever enemy to the gospel and kingdom of our Lord Jesus, and the holy Covenant, whereby the same are promoted; taking occasion from these many troubles and confusions, which the opposition and false-heartedness of many in the same Covenant, did principally provoke the Lord to inflict upon these lands, and advantage from the proneness of mens power to decline unto tyranny, and their corruptions to all licentiousness, did first most falsely and atrociously slander the Covenant as the bond of all iniquity, rebellion and confusion; which prejudice being enforced with many apparent advantages that then did attend it, did so suddenly and strongly spread and root itself in the hearts of our nobles, rulers, and the generality of the land, that, without so much as seriously reflecting upon their former so solemn engagements, sacred oaths, public professions, vigorous actings and appearances for the cause and covenant of the Lord, with any consideration of conscience, honesty, or honour, which so great and sudden a mutation from their former ways, though they had been as wicked, as in effect they are true and righteous, did certainly call for, in sober and earnest repentance; they, with the concurrence of such vile sycophants and treacherous persons in the church and ministry, as the

worldly wealth and power of Prelacy had wickedly debauched, set themselves in a most determined and resolute fury, wherēinto all their former zeal for God is, by the malice of Satan, suddenly corrupted, by the plain force of power, and colour of authority, whereunto they had now attained, to deface and overturn the whole work of God, raze its foundations, annul his covenants, repeal all acts in their favours, incapacitate all opposers; and lastly, to efface and dissolve all sense and bond of conscience, by which this fearful course of apostacy, might be in the least checked or controlled.

We shall not here premise any thing, for clearing of the unlawfulness of the succeeding acts and deeds, whereby this apostacy was carried on, and for the loosening and freeing of us from all obligation of obedience thereto, or compliance therewith: Any who can but suppose, that not only a whole parliament, but also all men are, and have often been found liars; and compare impartially the things present with the things that are past, must necessarily conclude, that all these acts and deeds of defection were, and are gross perjury and wickedness; and that so long as that maxim shall hold, *That we ought rather to obey God than man*, they can never be binding either in conscience or reason.

Seeing therefore, that the only rule of these counter-actings and overturnings, was to destroy that which the Lord had so gloriously planted, and to loose that whereunto we were as indissolubly obliged, referring ourselves to what is already said for vindicating the Lord's work, and our holy Covenants, we proceed to lay forth the sinfulness and wofulness of this defection, as follows.

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given, the Lord Marquis of *Argyle*, and some other gentlemen, who were conceived to have been instrumental in the former work of God, and that they might be of influence for obstructing of the then designed overthrow thereof, were attached, and committed close prisoners.

2. In *August* 1660, the committee of estates appointed by the parliament 1651, being again set down; the very first day of their meeting, do violently seize upon several faithful ministers, peaceably and quietly assembled together, and employed in the drawing up of a monitory letter to the king, in the most rational and dutiful manner, and for the most important and necessary ends of God's glory, and the king's service, that can be imagined, as the letter itself set down at large in the *Apologick Narration* doth testify: And though this duty and employment was no other, than what the meanest subject in the most private capacity might, and all were indispensibly obliged to have done; yet these ministers, and one gentleman with them, are therefore instantly, without hearing, committed prisoners.

3. This committee proceeding to prepare for the succeeding parliament, which was all its work and design, the parliament sitteth down the first day of *January*; where, having taken the *oath of supremacy*, without respect to its due limitation contained in the 114th Act, *Jam. VI. Parl. 12. 1592*, then standing unrepealed; and exalting the king's prerogative, upon the alledged warrant of the *word of God*, and *laws of the land*, (but in effect directly contrary to both,) above all offices, parliaments, laws, leagues, conventions, peace and war; and likewise upon meer assertions and alledgances, in place of declaring, upon known and certain grounds, which is all that any parliament can law-

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fully do, directly innovating the fundamental law and constitution of the kingdom, and thereby making the king's throne, the foundation of all the succeeding perjury and apostacy; they spoil and divest, first, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and then the *National Covenant*, *Presbyterial government*, and the whole work of God, of all legal warrant and authority; declaring *all acts and practices made and standing in favours thereof, to be void and null*: and by the same great *Act Rescissory*, they revive and reinforce all the corruptions and superstitions of crossing, kneeling, and the like. introduced by any parliament since the reformation. As the acts of the first session of the last parliament do clearly testify.

Although that these acts have been and are, both in themselves, and in their effects, just cause of great astonishment and mourning to all the faithful in the land; yet when we remember that height of wickedness and profanity, that then abounded, and the false, flattering, and perjurious sermons and practices, by which the parliament was thereunto instigated; but most of all, that act that then passed for an anniversary thanksgiving; wherein, as if we had been *delivered to commit all this great wickedness*, the spirit and work of the Lord are heinously blasphemed and calumniated, as the only author and cause of all the blood, bondage, usurpation, rebellion, rapine, violence, and other evils, that either the malice and wickedness of men had caused, or in his righteous judgment had therefore permitted or inflicted; and the reversing of our blessed Reformation, holy Covenants, and the righteous laws, whereby they were established, accounted the restitution of religion, righteousness, and liberties; and the 29th of *May*, as most auspicious, appointed for the yearly solemn commemoration thereof. A day the profane institution

tion whereof cannot be better demonstrated, than by its more profane observance and celebration ever since practised. These things, we say, being considered, do justly add horror to our astonishment, and trembling unto our mourning. But that their practice might be also consonant to their acts and statutes; and, by cutting off, or laying aside its most eminent opposers, the return of Prelacy might be more effectually promoted, in the same *session* of parliament, not only was that innocent and faithful one, Mr. *Guthrie*, singled out, and signally honoured by God, to bear testimony to the kingdom of his Son Jesus Christ, his cause and Covenant, for no other fault than his faithfulness therein, and his declining the king's usurped authority, in prejudice of the kingdom of our Lord Jesus, and the privileges of his church, clearly warranted by the 114th Act, 12. *Parl. Jam. VI.* then standing unrepeal'd, and by a great cloud of faithful witnesses, who in like manner did testify against this usurpation cruelly slain and put to death; but also, under the colour of certain epidemic crimes, wherein the sovereignty of divine providence, more than any man's malice, had involved the whole lands, others who had been eminent in the work of God, particularly the Marquis of *Argyle*, were condemned to death, and forfeitted: and several other faithful ministers, besides these who were at first imprisoned by the committee of estates, were, without any cause signified, imprisoned, confined, or otherwise vexed and incapacitated.

4. The rise and re-establishment of this Antichristian Prelacy being thus prepared in the interval after this first session of parliament, the king nominateth and presenteth bishops: and four of them being called to court, are there re-ordained and consecrated, and that in such a manner, as

doth clearly infer their disowning and renouncing their former ministry, and their warrant and mission thereunto. In consequence whereof, all the ordinary meetings of presbyteries and synods are discharged, until they should of new be licensed and authorized thereto by the bishops now nominated and appointed; and, to the effect that matters might the better succeed, several of our faithful ministers, upon groundless suspicions, and for the refusing of the oath of supremacy, arbitrarily and rigorously imposed, without so much as admitting such qualifications, as no Christian ought or can deny, are some of them banished, and others confined.

5. The second *session* of this last parliament sitting in *May* 1662, by their first *act*, they restore and re-establish Prelacy in all its pretended *rights, dignities and privileges*, but in effect, in its real usurpations and corruptions. And for the better settling thereof, and evident declaring to the world, how Erastian and Antichristian this woful government is, both in its rise, designs, and effects, as by this *Act*, the restitution thereof is expressly founded upon the *king's supremacy*, as being an *inherent right in the crown for the disposal of the external government of the church*; so it is also declared, that *whatever the king shall determine, with advice of the bishops, and such of the clergy as he shall nominate, in the external government of the church, shall be valid and effectual*, without any other proviso than that the same be *consistent with the laws of the realm*. But the absolute complement of all wickedness, and the height of usurpation, above all that ever the Papacy itself aspired unto, is that which followeth, whereby the king and parliament, for clearing all scruples which may occur from former acts and practices, do rescind

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all former *acts*, by which, the sole and only power of jurisdiction within this church, doth stand in the church, and in the meetings and assemblies thereof; and all acts of parliament and council, which may be interpreted to have given any church power, jurisdiction, or government to the office-bearers of the church, their respective meetings, other than that which acknowledgeth a dependance upon, and subordination to the sovereign power of the king as supreme, and is to be regulated and authorized in the exercise thereof by the bishops, who are to put order to ecclesiastic matters, and to be accountable to the king for their administration; and the foresaid 114th *Act, Parl. 12. Jam. VI.* whereby the privileges, power and other essential censures given by God to the spiritual office-bearers in his church, and warranted by his word, are ratified, is even in so far and totally passed and rescinded. And that the world may know, how presumptuous and absurd this usurpation is, which cannot be justly conceived, without an instance of its effects, we here subjoin that 4th *Act, Sess. 3.* of the same *Parliament*, for the constitution of a national synod, wherein the king is made sovereignly and properly, to constitute this assembly, both as to the appointment of its members constituent, and of its constant president; the absolute regulation of things there to be proposed (which are declared to be *only such as he shall be pleased to signify*,) the determination and limitation of its decisions, which are to be *agreed to by the president, as well as the major part, and providing that they be not contrary to the prerogative of the laws of the realm.* And lastly, as to the necessity of the King's presence in person, or by his commissioner, and of his ratification and approbation, without which no act or deed is to be of any force. Now,
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let the world consider, what he could have done more in the constitution and regulation of his own court of *exchequer*: and if he hath not done all, as to the constitution of this court, (immediately depending upon our Lord Jesus Christ, and his sole authority) which he himself hath done or possibly could do; by what warrant or rule, he who is King of kings will require. We shall not here stand to examine these acts according to former laws oaths and engagements, hereby most fearfully violated and contemned; this is a strain of wickedness above all that former times could imagine. O! that God would speak to the authors, but not in wrath, and as he hath set his only Son upon his holy hill of *Zion*; so he would cause them to fear his displeasure, that they may yet be wise and instructed to kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and they perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Surely to define, that the sole power and jurisdiction of his church, doth not stand within the same, but in some thing without and beside our Lord Jesus; and that the same is fountain'd in, and derived from the king; and that all church officers in all church matters, are accountable to him, who is neither thereto gifted nor called, is to set the king upon our Lord Jesus his throne, and a high derogation from, and reflection upon him, who has builded the temple of the Lord, and bears the glory, and sits and rules both as king and priest upon his throne; *who, more worthy than Moses, was faithful and perfect as a son over his own house*; and therefore, did not leave his church destitute of any such necessary and proper officer or assister, when neither king nor prince was so much as members thereof; and lastly, it is a plain perversion, instead of performance of that promise made to the church, *Isai. xlix, 23, That kings should be its*

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nursing Fathers, where in place of dominion, their submission is expressly joined, *they shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth*. We know that this empty notion of *external policy*, is vainly pretended to colour the matter: but seeing whatsoever can be meant by external policy, even as to outward decency and order, is either particularly determined by our Lord himself and his blessed apostles, or under the definition of general and evident rules left unto the churches arbitrament, whereby the king (being no church-officer) upon a double account is clearly excluded; and seeing that under the pretence of this external policy, the greatest and most superstitious novations in the pure worship of God, and the greatest corruptions and abuses, both by the appointment of new officers in the church of Christ without his own warrant, and the usurping and perverting of the power of spiritual censures in the government of God's house, may be, and have been introduced; we doubt not, but all rational men do see the delusions of such vain pretences. And certainly the *act* itself doth proceed, to grant the king all the power in and over both *ecclesiastic causes and persons* that can be imagined, it would be but ordinary ingenuity in our adversaries, plainly to assert, that the king is the great apostle and vicegerent of our Lord Jesus Christ, in and over his house: altho' they should not only appear herein destitute of any better warrant than this present *Act of Parliament*; but most plainly to justify all the usurpation, that ever the Pope, or Antichrist, can be charged with.

6. Bishops being thus restored and admitted to sit and give voice in parliament, this mixture, and the power of their Antichristian spirit, doth quickly exert itself: and without regard to the nature of
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parliamentary and all civil powers, which are no ways converſant about things and perſuaſions only internal, and meerly appertaining to conſcience; or to the word of God, which is the ground and warrant, upon which all power whatſoever, being only declarative, in matters of this kind, ought certainly and expreſſy to proceed, they procure a dogmatic act declaring theſe poſitions, *That it is lawful to ſubjects for reformation or neceſſary ſelf-defence to enter into leagues, or take up arms againſt the king, and ſuch like, to be rebellious and treaſonable; and particularly, That the National Covenant, as it was explained in the year 1638, and the Solemn League and Covenant, were, and are in THEMSELVES UNLAWFUL OATHS, and were taken by, and impoſed upon the ſubjects of this kingdom, againſt the fundamental laws and liberties thereof: which neither they, nor all the invention of hell, is able to condeſcend upon or inſtruct; and therefore, out of the plenitude of their power, as much as ever any Pope pretended to, they looſe the obligation of conſcience, and free the ſubjects of their engagements: And further, to compleat this their wickedneſs, they appoint a declaration of this high impiety, to be ſigned by all in public truſt, that none may be admitted to, or exerce the ſame, except they receive in their right hand, or in their foreheads this their accuſed mark. O! Lord our God, thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canſt not look on iniquity: Wherefore look'ſt thou on them that deal treacherouſly, and holds thy tongue when the wicked devour the man that is more righteous than he? Yet ſurely, O Lord, thou haſt ordained them for judgment; and O mighty God, thou haſt eſtabliſhed them for correction. Can the world believe, that a whole nation in its moſt national capacity, including king, parliament, and the body of*

of the people, should, after most clear and evident convictions, and signal manifestations of the glory and presence of God, in the most important and holy concernments of all truth and righteousness, most solemnly, as it were, to-day engage themselves by oath unto the Lord, and to-morrow, without so much as seriously remembering God's holiness and terrible jealousy, either against these that break his holy covenant, or wickedly profane his name by taking it in vain, at once, without any reason or probable motive rendered therefore, despise, contemn and trample the same holy and great engagements under foot, and urge others to the like wickedness and impiety? If this tend unto, or shall prove effectual for *preservation of his majesty's person, authority and government*, as this act and statute is entitled, he may *break the Covenant and prosper*. But this is not all, for these men supposing by this act, that the work of God was utterly subverted and overthrown, they provide also against the fears of its revival, by declaring *all such gatherings and petitions, that were used in the beginning of the late troubles*, though the same be no other than the common privilege of all men, which slavery itself, much less subjection, doth not take away, *to be unlawful and seditious*: And further do statute and enact, *That no person by writing, printing, praying, preaching, or malicious and advised speaking, express or publish any words or sentences to stir up the people to the dislike of the king's prerogative and supremacy, or of the government of the church by bishops; or justify any of the deeds, actings or things declared against by this present act*. By all which, not only the security of religion, and the liberty of the subject is utterly subverted, by prohibiting of the lawful, most necessary, and only means of asserting thereof, in case the same should
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be invaded; but we are also denied and prohibited the licence, so much as to mourn and pour out our prayer unto God, either apart, or one with another; for all this horrid apostacy, or our heavy persecutions for non-compliance therewith; so that the most innocent of all remedies, petitioning and prayer; and also the meanest and last of all comforts, even the tears and complaints of the afflicted, which God and nature hath hitherto placed beyond the reach of all cruelty, are now severely forbidden.

7. By the *third act* of the same session of parliament, under the pretence that patronages, being the just and proper right of these concerned, were unjustly abolished in the year 1649, notwithstanding that the same were only, in so far as they were burdensom to the church of God, and obstructive to the work of the gospel, then abrogated; and in lieu thereof, the civil interest and benefit of Patrons more amply extended and secured; yet on purpose that they might cast out and remove such faithful ministers, as notwithstanding all the wicked acts and practices then made for the overthrow of the work of God and presbyterial government, might have by their steadfastness, at least, put some demur to this impetuous defection, they statute and ordain, *That all ministers who entered to the cure of any parish, in or since the year 1649, have no right unto, nor shall possess any benefice or stipend for that same current year 1662, or any year following, but decern their kirks and benefices ipso jure vacant.* And then under pretext of favour, they clearly discover the design and snare intended, in declaring, *That every such minister who shall obtain the patron's presentation, and bishop's collation, betwixt and the twenty of September then next following, shall have right to his church and benefice, as if at his entry he had been lawfully presented, otherwise*

the act to stand in force against him. By which means this same parliament in their first session having enacted, That no patron should present, or minister presented have right, except they should first take the oath of supremacy, the very body and strength of the ministry of this church were reduced to this fore *dilemma*, either to take that oath of supremacy, which both by express acts and clear practices, was now declared and interpreted to be the very height of Papacy, and root of Prelacy, and by accepting of collation, to acknowledge these perfidious and usurping Prelates, or to lose and be cast out of the ministry; likeas, *de facto*, three hundred and upwards, of the faithful ministers, were, by virtue of this act, shortly thereafter outed and violented from the exercise of their ministry.

8. The Prelates not having attained their full intent by this last act, do further prosecute their design of casting out, and incapacitating all such as either remained, or might rise up to oppose their wickedness, and therefore they procure, 1. An act of parliament, without either citation or reason rendered, against the faithful ministers of *Edinburgh*, who, being eminent lights, were also from the advantage of the place apprehended, as more eminent opposers, discharging them of their ministry, and ordaining them to remove themselves and families out of the city, after the 8th of *September* then next to come. 2. By the fourth act of the same second session of parliament, to the effect that not one faithful minister might remain to witness against their defection, they statute and enact, *That all ministers, for testifying their acknowledgment of, and compliance with the present government by prelates, keep and observe the bishops visitations, and diocesan assemblies, and be assistant to them in all acts of church discipline as they shall be required, under*

der the pain for the first fault of suspension from office, and benefice, and of deposition if they should not amend. We are not here to redargue such lukewarm neuters, as, by the subtilty of a vain distinction, deceiving and being deceived, under the pretence of innocent submission, do actually assist, partake, and comply with that wicked Prelacy, which they are sworn to extirpate; and at best, can only pretend to keep the Covenant by that *detestable neutrality*, which they have therein abjured; their growing backsliding will quickly declare and free them of this imputation of neutrality. Our regret is for the faithful, who are thus, by the perjury and violence of such, who of all men ought not to patronize them, not only outed of the ministry by deprivation from benefice or stipend, but declared by a parliament, a civil court, deposeable from their spiritual office, as inconsistently and absurdly, as if the same secular persons, who were authors thereof, had by the same act stepped into their pulpits. 3. By the same last act, in imitation of *Julian* the Apostate, who found not a more effectual and devilish invention for suppressing and destroying Christianity, than the shutting up of their schools and colleges for learning, they ordain, for the poisoning of all the springs and fountains thereof, that none teach nor rule in an university or college, except they both take the oath of supremacy, and submit to, and own the government of Prelacy, and that none be permitted to teach any school, or to be a pædagogus to children without the Prelates licence. 4. By the same act, they not only prohibit any to preach in publick or in families without the Prelates licence; but advancing and pursuing their malice and persecution unto these very sanctuaries of rest and refuge, which even in former times, (when the proud were called happy, and such as wrought wicked-

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wickedness were set up; yea, they that tempted God were delivered,) the Lord did provide and reserve for his own, wherein *they that feared him, and thought upon his name, spoke often one to another, and the Lord hearkned and heard it*; they, under the pretence; lest the people should thereby be alienated from their *lawful pastors*, as they call them, who in effect are wolves and thieves, discharge all private meetings in houses for religious exercises, which might tend to the prejudice of the public worship in churches: under which qualification, all christian fellowship and society, amongst such who cannot overcome their just aversion from these churches and public meetings, which these apostate Prelates have profaned and polluted, and whereunto they have wickedly intruded, are prohibited and reproached.

9. By a proclamation emitted this second session of parliament, they again enjoin the observance of that anniversary holy day, the 29th of May, *even the month and day which they had devised of their own heart for a feast unto the people*: And to the effect they might the more infallibly attain their purpose of outing all faithful ministers, they subjoin the certification of *deprivation of benefice*, or stipend, against all such who should not, (because in conscience they could not) observe it, likeas *de facto*, severals, who could not in conscience satisfy themselves, either as to the authority or reason of the appointment, are therefore, without citation or hearing, outed of their benefices and stipends for that year; and the same either immediately ingathered by the common collector, or gifted to some other.

10. In the same session of parliament, pretending that the whole land, a few only excepted, were notoriously and heinously involved in the crimes of

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treason and lese-majesty, through no other cause nor occasion, than our most necessary, righteous, and lawful entering into the Solemn League and Covenant, and prosecuting the holy ends thereof, once so signally owned and countenanced by the Lord, and so fully authorized by all the law and security that can be imagined (for, as for the *English* usurpation, few were guilty of compliance therewith, who were not also most forward in this apostasy, and the very vilest and worst of such had been declared an honest man by an express and particular act of the same parliament,) they appoint a packed close-committee, wherein the generality of the faithful, to the number of about eight hundred, not adding a hundred more, who by private resentment, or upon some other prejudice, were listed in this roll, without citation, or any cause signified, or any manner of trial taken, were most arbitrarily fined, and, for the most part, in such pecuniary mulcts and sums as it pleased the malicious suggestions of the delators to impose, and in many particulars so absurdly, that sometimes the same person was found twice fined under divers stiles, in divers shires, and others were left blank either in the name or surname, who might be filled up either for one person or another, as the best conjecture should determine; and others were fined, who were dead long before, or were infants and minors under age, and others who to this day could never be found. If this be the righteous judgment which the Lord doth require, let the world declare. Surely this act is such as hath no precedent nor fellow, except that other act of *billeting*, whereof, as the power and interest of some persons against whom it was intended, have, by an after-act, sufficiently discovered its irregularity and absurdity; so until the like discovery as to other acts may be obtained,

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it may evidently enough declare what manner of power and reason did over-rule this parliament: But these two acts being past, the parliament proceed to declare by their act of *indemnity* the king's special grace and goodness, in pardoning such whom only the parliaments own apostacy, and unparalleled rebellion against the God of heaven, made criminal, excepting for the most part only such who were most innocent.

11. This session of parliament being ended, the council go about the execution of the acts therein concluded, especially against the ministers not obtaining presentations, and by their act and proclamation at *Glasgow*, emitted the first day of *October* 1662, they command all such ministers to remove themselves forth of their respective parishes, betwixt and the — day of *November* then next ensuing, discharging them thereafter to exercise any part of their ministerial function within the same: what and how great the iniquity and rigor of this act is, we will not stand to declare. Certainly, he who commanded his apostles to *pray that their flight might not be in the Winter*, did regard, and doth remember the great distress which many poor families then sustained, who, being deprived of livelihood, turned out of doors, indigent, and very numerous, might, according to the cruelty of their adversaries, have starved and perished. We need not here insist upon the particular steps, whereby the restless jealousies of these wicked Prelates, did urge forward and advance this persecution, by their impetrating of reiterate acts and proclamations, until they obtained that last act and proclamation, concluding and adjudging all these ministers unto such a nice and impossible confinement, which not only the necessity of human frailty, and its dependence upon many indispensable conveniences, do

render more rigid and intolerable than the most strict imprisonment, and the most barbarous banishment, but also the most curious skill of the most exact geographer can scarce make practicable: It is enough for us to note, that having, by a posterior proclamation, extended the same pains unto all ministers, outed upon whatsoever ground of non-conformity, to this present course of apostacy, (in which condition all the faithful ministers in *Scotland*, a very few excepted, are included,) there were never so many innocent and faithful ministers, in any Christian church at once, and for such a cause, reduced to such hardships, fears, and uncertainties, and that by such persons, who not only are as deeply and solemnly sworn and engaged as they are, in the same cause and covenant for which they suffer; but by such who once, some of them at least, appeared to have had the zeal of God, so that if it had been possible, they would have pluck'd out their own eyes, and have given them to such, whose enemies they now are, only because they tell them the truth: such is the fearful snare and prevailing power of apostacy; but God seeth and telleth their wanderings, and putteth all their tears into his bottle. Having, because of the necessary connection of these things, thus represented them together, we return to the third session of the same parliament, and its acts: Where,

12. By the first act thereof, they ratify the former act anent ministers, who entered in, and since the year 1649, and such who keep not the diocesian meetings, and do recommend to the privy council *the effectual execution thereof, and to call all such ministers, who dare to preach in contempt of that act, to be punished as seditious persons, and also to be careful to remove and dispossess such, who should be suspended or deprived for non-conforming; declar-*

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ing, that if they thereafter presume to exercise their ministry, they should be punished as seditious persons. Thus, in the height of perfidy and violence, men, under the pretext of abused and perverted authority, proceed to dare and presume against God, their own consciences, and all their sacred and indissoluble oaths and engagements, and to persecute such for preaching, who, standing stedfast therein, and having a dispensation of the gospel committed unto them, by him who is King in Zion, and higher than the kings of the earth, may and ought to condemn the menaces of vain man, in regard of that heavy and severe woe sounding in their ears, if they preach not the gospel: But the act doth further proceed to require of all, *A due acknowledgment of, and hearty compliance with the king's government ecclesiastical and civil;* and therefore to ordain and declare, *That who ever shall ordinarily and wilfully withdraw and absent themselves, from the ordinary meetings for divine worship on the Lord's day, whether upon the account of Popery, or other disaffection, shall incur, each heritor the loss of a fourth of that years rent, each yeoman the loss of a fourth (or under) of his moveables, each burges the loss of his liberty and burges-ship with the fourth of his moveables;* and concludes with a reference to the council, *for further punishment, and more effectual execution:* Likeas in order hereunto, the council by several proclamations since, have so much intended the severity of this act, that every parish, instead of having a lawful pastor, is now enslaved to a graceless, violent hireling, as its lord and master, and to the extortion of soldiers appointed for his executioners and exactors.

We shall not here debate the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the obedience here required, only for the vindication of many thousands of the faithful,

who by their sufferings have born testimony against this act; we add, 1. That waving the ordinary and captious manner of proposing the question, in the terms of *hearing or not hearing*, which strictly taken, are not the subject thereof, we are assured that none seriously pondering the obligation of the oath of God, *Sincerely, really, and constantly, all the days of our life, to endeavour the extirpation of Prelates and their dependants*; but they will acknowledge, that the owning of, and submitting to the apostate curates, according to this act, as our ministers, is most diametrically opposite thereto: Can we lawfully own such whom we are bound to abhor? or submit to such whom we are bound to extirpate? Surely this were to rebuild what we have destroyed. 2. That though some nimble sophisters, who fear not after vows to make inquiry, can and have swallowed both owning and submitting, as not repugnant to the duty of extirpation; yet, seeing the direct contrary thereof, is by the terms themselves very significantly imported, and that these terms were, for this express cause and design, particularly elected and made choice of, by the parliament, for ranversing the obligation of the holy covenant, no sober man will be tempted by their delusion to think, either that owning and submitting, signify no more than a simple submitting; or that the active assenting and complying submission here meant, is no more than that still and passive submission, unto which men by the force of inevitable necessity, and against their wills, are oftentimes constrained. 3. That whoever, pretending to enter into the ministry, doth presumptuously contemn and despise the sacred rule and order of entry appointed by the great Shepherd, cannot be reputed to enter by the *door*, nor to be so much as externally by him sent or called: but such as do enter

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by gross and palpable perjury and wicked violence and intrusion, do without question condemn the sacred rule and order of God's word, so that to admit such, to be so much as externally called, were to make the God of order the author of confusion; and him who is the *truth*, the favourer of perjury. We know that this notion of an *external call* is conceived by many, to be no other thing, than the performance of such rites and solemnities, as are prescribed to the admission of a minister, done by such a person or persons, on whom the like hath been performed; but seeing that by many instances of gross disorder and violence, (which are obvious for any man to suppose) many absurdities might be hence inferred; and that to be externally called, according both to the meaning of truth, and the import of the word is, *To have such a visible evidence of the call of Jesus Christ, as in reason and charity doth oblige all men to receive the person so called, as truly sent*: Certainly, if any person force his own entry into the ministry, by open and profane contempt of the rule and order given by our Lord Jesus, he doth, in like manner, as palpably disprove any evidence of a lawful call, which he can pretend to; and no man is obliged either to believe him to be called, or to receive him as sent. Which things are so evident in themselves, that whoever denieth them, is obliged by the same consequence to affirm, that if *Simon Magus* had, in his horrid wickedness, purchased the apostleship by money, the Christian world had been bound to receive him as an apostle. 4. Though we are not to lanch out into these depths, how the sovereignty of divine providence hath suffered churches to fall away into apostacy, and again recovered them; and if during these times of apostacy, a standing ministry still continued, or how long it did; if not, what way

it was revived and raised up, in which cases true faith in Jesus Christ, which is the substance of all, and a conscientious walking according to the measure of the times, doth certainly purge and sustain many things otherways chargeable with informality; yet of this we are confident, that it hath always been both the sin and misery of all apostatizing churches, that they have not resisted the beginnings of defection; and when the authors thereof did prove incorrigible, though formerly ministers, that they did not separate from them, and account them as Heathens and publicans, which course, if duly and zealously observed, had undoubtedly put a great stop and hinderance to the rise and wicked usurpation of Antichrist, all whose malice and violence, without the delusion and compliance of such who ought to have resisted them, had never proven so effectual. 5. That a man may be a minister, and yet not a minister unto all, so as to oblige them to receive him as sent to them, which may be intuitively understood beyond the light and power of any demonstration, if we but suppose the case of a particular congregation, living under, and acknowledging their own lawful pastor, and that amongst such, a few violent persons arising, bring in another minister by plain force, and cast out their lawful pastor; and if it be sincerely resolved what the faithful in that church are then obliged to do, surely none will think that they ought instantly to relinquish their true pastor, and own and submit to this intruder; but, on the contrary, all must grant that they ought to adhere to their lawful minister, and not only discountenance and withdraw from the usurper, but by all lawful means endeavour his ejection; which case, if but translated to the present condition of this oppressed church under usurping Prelates, will, with
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the same evidence resolve the question. 6. That whatever construction or interpretation, many, to whom it is given to believe, but not to suffer, may put upon their hearing of the Curates, as to the infering or not infering their owning of, and submission to their ministry, yet this is certain, that as it is the most probable argument and presumption of owning that can be alledged, so is it that which this act requires for to testify both a due acknowledgment of, and hearty compliance with the present government by Prelates; and as an undoubted evidence of the peoples giving their chearful countenance and assistance to the curates. 7. That seeing hearing of the curates, by the acknowledgment of all the more ingenious, is not a duty to which they are moved by conscience, but rather used by them, as a thing though lawful, yet arbitrary, for the eviting a greater inconvenience; and seeing that this act, and every article thereof, is undoubtedly gross and wicked perfidy against God and his holy covenant, commanding the disowning and relinquishing the Lord's ministry whom we are bound to maintain, and the owning and encouraging, by hearing, such vile intruders, as we are bound to extirpate, thereby designing expressly to involve all, as much as possible, in the same perfidy, and to loose the former obligation of the oath of God; whatever may be said in the case abstractly considered, yet we are persuaded, that being thus stated, not hearing becomes a case of testimony, and an indispensable duty. 8. That as it is the sin and misery of all declining times, that the zeal of God is at the best rather wished for as a blessing, than minded as a duty; so we are confident that the true and right zeal of God should, and would not only inspire all with an unanimous aversion against the profane intruding curates, but animate us as

one man to drive away these wolves and thieves, and to eradicate these plants which our heavenly Father never planted. 9. That though the curates could instruct and justify their external call, yet such are their lyes and lightness by which they cause the people to err, and the visible truth of their vile perjury, and profanity, which they preach and practise, that all serious observers may easily discover them to be inwardly ravening wolves under the sheep's cloathing of a pretended external call; of whom, in conscience to our Lord's command, all ought and should beware. 10. That whatever may be the difference in these things even among the faithful, yet all must agree and acknowledge, that the violent pressing of such to hear, who, upon such probable grounds, from a tender sense of conscience, do only plead that Christian, innocent, and most safe privilege of a peaceable forbearance, is not only contrary to that ample promise of *indulgence to tender consciences* made and declared by the king from *Breda*, before his return 1660, but is in effect to violate all conscience, and the height of oppression and rigour. 11. That as the grounds laid down may and do sufficiently answer all objections, so therefrom may be shortly cleared,

First, That common and ordinary sophism, that hearing and observing the ordinances is an indispensable duty, from which neither the wickedness nor frailty of the minister doth loose.

But as it may be easily answered, that this, when acknowledged, doth rather suppose than infer the complexed lawfulness, of hearing curates as ministers, and that their ministry is the Lord's ordinance, which is plainly denied; so we are also to consider, that such duties and performances are only acceptable unto the Lord, especially in the
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matters of his worship, which are intirely sound and wholly agreeable unto his will, truly done, in spirit, and altogether performed in truth, *Nam bonum est ex omni causa*, hence it is, that the profanity and wickedness even of the Lord's lawful priests, let be the perjury and profanity of wicked intruders, have not only caused the people to abhor the offering of the Lord, to the priests heavy charge; but even the Lord himself to abhor his sanctuary, and to account incense an abomination, so that *he cannot away with the calling of assemblies, it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting*: Shall it then be accounted iniquity for to *hate that which the Lord hates*, and withdraw from that which he hath forsaken? Ought we not rather to distinguish a holy abhorring, from a profane contempt, though both of them proceed from the curates sin, and in the sense thereof rather wish for, and withdraw with *Jeremiah* unto a cottage in the wilderness, that there we may mourn for all these abominations; surely were there no more in this matter, but that holiness becomes the house of God for ever, and men of clean hands and a pure lip ought to draw near and turn unto him, it were sufficient to justify the Lord's people, who, in drawing near to God, cannot in conscience either regard or make use of the mouths and hands of these apostates which are continually filled with lyes and violence, as either sent by the Lord to them-ward, or to be employed by them to God-ward.

Secondly, From these grounds may be cleared that grand objection from our Lord's command to the people of the *Jews*, Matth. xxiii. 2, 3. saying, *The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses's seat, therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do*. Whence some infer, that even such as without a title usurp the office of teachers, ought notwithstanding

standing to be both heard and observed ; but it is answered,

1. That it neither appeareth from the words, nor yet from any other record, that the scribes and Pharisees did by intrusion possess themselves of *Moses's* chair ; but, on the contrary, as by *Moses's* chair is only understood the office of teaching, resolving and judging according to *Moses's* law, to which altho' the Levites were appropriate, yet is there no such determination thereanent in the word of God, as can by any manner of inference reject the scribes and Pharisees as intruders ; so it is more presumable, (that seeing our Lord in that long legend of evils and woes pronounced against them, doth not in the least charge them with intrusion, but rather acknowledge their vocation, calling them the builders) they had thereto lawfully attained.

2. As our Lord's words bear no command for the people to hear, but only to observe and do what they heard ; rather supposing than allowing that, which though for the time he endeavoured to improve to the best advantage, yet afterwards he intended not only to reform, but utterly to abolish ; and therefore cannot in reason infer a command and duty to hear the curates ; so neither our Lord's tolerance in this case can so much as infer its lawfulness, except the cases were duly stated and compared, which if any will rationally do, by first supposing that the scribes and Pharisees had then lately, by gross perjury and violence, thrust out the Lord's teachers, and intruded themselves into the office : We are bold to affirm, that our greatest adversaries dare not in this case assert, that our Lord would so much, as in the like words here used, have insinuate a simple toleration.

13. Hitherto we have only observed the progress of these acts that directly tend to the overthrow

throw of Presbytery, and the erecting of Prelacy, but as by the vilest of flatteries and most presumptuous of usurpations, sovereignty is puffed up and exalted to that supremacy, which is the necessary and only foundation of Prelacy; so it is no wonder, if both, in the righteous judgment of God, and through the influence of this wicked Prelacy, the stay of lawful authority become a yoke of tyranny and that these Prelates, who make an absolute surrender of religion, conscience and all sacred concerns, for the gratifying, and to the arbitrament of these powers whose creatures they have often atheistically acknowledged themselves to be, do with the same and greater profusion subject both laws, liberties, and the fortunes of others, to the lust of the same powers, which they may so easily pervert unto their own establishment and advancement: and this indeed is and hath always been that great aggravation of our late Prelacy, rendering the same worse and more intolerable then the Romish Hierarchy, which being wholly dependent upon the Pope, another and distinct head, and not upon the civil power, whose interests are oftentimes not only distinct but directly opposite, it hath neither that access, nor influence to abuse princes; whereas our Prelates deriving all their power and being from the king's supremacy, by endeavouring, for their own better establishment, to render him uncontrollably absolute over and in all things, they being otherwise mean and abject persons, having the least and almost no share nor interest in the commonwealth, and by reason of their ill right and worse conscience in what they do possess, being always cruelly jealous, have, by sad experience, ever inclined the government unto tyranny; and as in this late and worst catastrophe they have more prevailed then ever formerly they did, so the following

lowing instances do more clearly demonstrate this assertion.

We shall not here repeat these acts, whereby, for the better and more easy establishment of Prelacy then designed, this parliament for its first work, under pretence of vindicating and declaring the king's just right and prerogative, did in effect wholly corrupt and innovate the well tempered and firm constitution of our antient government, which both all our antient histories and records, the only evidence whereby fundamental laws are verifiable, do sufficiently declare, and the long continuance and endurance thereof, excellently commend.

The first thing that hereafter occurs, is that act and offer of forty thousand pounds *Sterling* to the king yearly, during his life, whereby in place of that relaxation from these burdens which the iniquity of usurpers had only from time to time imposed, a lasting and perpetual imposition, by its continuance fully exequating the excess of the former, is intailed upon us, and that for no other end, than the complementing of a few favourites of Prelacy, and the maintaining of a military force over us, for their and the Prelates security, and the persecution and slavery of the body of the people opposite thereto.

The *second* thing is that rigid, irregular and exorbitant fineing, which we have already mentioned, clearly and unquestionably carried on and executed, by the same authors, and for the same design.

The *third* thing is that *humble tender* made to the king of our duty and loyalty; whereby in recognizance of the king's prerogative, and in a further acknowledgment of our duty, the parliament by the 25. Act, session 3. so subject the persons, fortunes, and whole strength of the kingdom to the

the king's pleasure and arbitrimēt, in that *humble* (indeed, but also blind and inconsiderate) offer of 20,000 foot-men and 2000 horse-men sufficiently armed, with 40 days provision, to be ready upon the king's call to march to any part of his dominions, for opposing whatsoever invasion or insurrection, or for any other service. Which offer, tho' possibly many do account it but a voluntary and cheerful expression of that readines, which our ancestors have often witnessed for the defence of king and country; yet, in effect, it duly considered as concluded under the force of a statute and act of parliament, in place of that willingness and readines alledged, whereunto our ancestors were from time to time determined, by these visible and apparent exigencies of the common concernment which did require it, it will be found no other thing, than an implicate and slavish emancipation of our lives and liberties, to the arbitrimēt of the powers, coloured with the pretext of loyal devotion to lawful authority. But whatever is herein exorbitant, is, without question, the proper effect and product of the jealousy of these apostate Prelates, whom the inward disquiet of an evil conscience, causeth to apprehend terror round about.

The *fourth* thing wherein this wicked Prelacy hath perverted the ancient and well constitute government of this realm, is their procuring, erecting and exercising the high commission court, (without so much as the approbation of that parliament, wherein nothing would have been refused them,) wherein not only ecclesiastic and civil jurisdiction are absurdly confounded, in empowering secular persons to suspend and depose; and pretended church-men and ministers to fine, confine and incarcerate, but the 131 *Act, Parl. 8. Jam. VI.* discharging

charging all new courts not approven in parliament, directly thereby contravened; neither will the catholicon of the king's omnipotent prerogative salve this breach, in respect the same prerogative, now in so great vigour, was by the 129 *Act* of this same 8 *Parl. Jam. VI.* and almost immediately preceeding the act alledged, then also recently enacted. But who can consider the arbitrary form of inquisition and summary procedure, without any shadow of legal process, used in the same *commission*, its tyranny and unwarrantable exacting of oaths and subscriptions, with its new invented insolent and affronting punishments, more cruel to ingenuous spirits than death itself, and not be convinced of the gross and wicked corruption of this state novelty, or rather monster?

The *fifth* thing which offers, is the accumulation, and in effect the suppression of the ordinary officers of state, (the very stay and props of regular government, and the conduits and channels whereby its refreshing influences are diffused) with and by an extraordinary and superlative power and office in the single person of the king's commissioner. Certainly, as in the multitude of counsellors there is safety; so, on the other hand, no king on earth can rule by such a deputation, who may not as lawfully alienate his crown: Which devices are all the inventions of these wicked Prelates, who knowing, that if the king should either hear, see, or act, but by such ears, eyes, and hands as they do assign unto him, their affairs could not long prosper, do by such exorbitancies endeavour the establishment of their own tyranny.

The *sixth* thing that occurs, is not only the keeping up of a military force to the intolerable burden and slavery of this free nation, in so far as the ordinary and civil manner of legal execution,

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especially for fines and ecclesiastical delinquencies, is now committed to, and managed by military force and violence, and thereby the manner of exacting oftentimes rendered more hard and insupportable than the exaction itself; but also, that for satisfying the restless jealousies and endless fears of the evil consciences of these apostate Prelates, more and greater forces, under the vain pretence of foreign fears, which both the then condition and posture of these wars, the disproportion of the forces themselves, and the disposal of such as before were levied, did clearly redargue, have been levied, and are kept on foot, for maintaining whereof the public revenues are misapplied; the fines, when by the king's favour long delayed, at length exacted and expended; new taxations imposed, far exceeding the quantity of any formerly required, and at length the old assessment, the great grievance of the late usurpation, of new superadded; and the poor country and body of the land, in its greatest poverty subjected unto, oppressed and harrassed by more injurious extortions than ever the conquering sword of a foreign enemy did heretofore, or can probably license: And all these things clearly intended and carried on for no other end than the support of this wicked Prelacy, and its cruel bondage and spiritual tyranny. We need not mention for an aggravation of these violences, that these forces were levied by the immediate procurement of the perfidious Prelates, without the advice of the king's council, (ever from the beginning, whatever may be the present exaltation of prerogative, reputed to be one with the king, and who both by place and interest are therein indispensibly concerned) seeing it is not the least of the iniquities and calamities of these times, that the poor nation, and its greatest concerns are by them so basely abandoned,

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doned. But this we must take notice of, that tho' our adversaries, by reason of the disastrous events that lately have happened, do now boast of a most special providence and foresight in all these oppressions; yet it would be more just and rational on their part to acknowledge, that as oppression doth even make a wise man mad; so to see a free nation, by the perfidy and insolent domineering of a few up-start Prelates, and the violence of their wicked and slavish favourites, reduced to the condition of a most insupportable and unnatural conquest, both was, is, and ever will be, a most just cause and provocation to all ingenious spirits and true patriots, to undertake the asserting of their own liberty, upon the greatest hazard.

Having thus truly and fully represented the exaltation of prerogative and Prelacy, over and above all things divine and human, sacred or profane, we shall briefly add the bitter and cruel fruits and effects of this sinful and woful conspiracy.

1. As the laws above-mentioned, enacted for the overthrow of presbytery, and the restoration of this accursed Prelacy, especially in so far as concerns the ministry, were, and are such as did inevitably infer, either a sinful compliance with that perjury and apostacy whereby they were framed, or the endurance of the pains and sufferings thereto subjoined; so almost the whole faithful ministers, are thereby first and last, not only deprived of their benefices and livelyhood, ejected out of their respective parishes, and by imminent and visible force incapacitated from the exercise of their ministry, but some of them are banished, others confined, and the remnant reduced to such straits, fears, and uncertainties, as we have before represented. Then might we have seen *the shepherds smitten, and their flocks scattered, our teachers removed into corners, and*
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the Lord's vineyard and sanctuary laid most desolate : so that in some whole countries and provinces no preaching was to be heard ; nor could the Lord's day be otherwise known, than by the sorrowful remembrance of these blessed enjoyments whereof now we are deprived. Oh ! tho' we had not the zeal and courage of our ancestors, to have set ourselves for the defence of the gospel, and the maintenance of the Lord's ministers and ordinances, of which we were so perfidiously and violently spoiled, yet that at least we had remembered, by prayer and supplication to God, in the days of our afflictions and of our miseries, all the pleasant things that we had in the days of old.

2. As this antichristian spirit did at the first discover itself, in that height and rage of profanity and all excess, which suddenly overspread the land, and did very powerfully and evidently usher in the restitution of Prelates ; so the same hath been ever since by them not only tolerated, but greatly countenanced and encouraged. We do not here mention their gross and wicked toleration of Popery, whereby in these few years it hath increased to a greater height than ever it attained at any time in this land since the Reformation ; and that though it hath, and doth appear in that daring confidence, as in its avowed idolatrous masses and seminary priests amongst us, to contemn and despise these ancient and standing laws whereby such things are often and severely prohibited, under the pain of death ; yet to this day, never one hath been publicly questioned and charged upon that account. The thing mostly to be noticed is, that the only grievance and eye-sore of Prelates is conscience, and any measure of tenderness therein ; thence is it that the most innocent and peaceable forbearance in not hearing curates, and the like, have been persecute

with all rigour, whereas adulteries, blasphemies, swearing and drunkenness are so far from being punished or restrained, that the committers thereof are now only the persons most in fashion and favour; yea, it hath been known, and can be instanced, that persons conveyed, and questioned, as disaffected, have either, upon the discovery or information of their profanity and dissoluteness, been instantly and freely dismissed. Oh that men and Christians do so little remember our Lord's own rule, to judge and discern false prophets by *their fruits*, whereby he hath expressly said, that *we shall know them*; and that men are so far blinded and bewitched, as not to see the mighty working of Satan in this mystery of iniquity, endeavouring, under a mere shadow and pretence of formality, to root out the power and life of religion and conscience, and to reduce this poor church unto that *Laodicean* lukewarmness, more desperate and incurable than coldness and death itself.

3. The faithful ministers being outed, and the hedge of Presbyterian government removed; as profanity and wickedness doth yet more abound, so *there came out of this smoke, locusts upon our church*, even a crew of curates for insufficiency, vanity, lies, and profanity, the very scorn of reformation, and scandal of religion. We need not here adduce particular instances; there is none who in the least observe their doctrine and manner of conversation, but will easily acknowledge it: And the certainty of what we here affirm is so obvious unto all, that a particular condescendence would either prove an infinite labour, or too much abridge the extent of so sad a truth. It is true, there are some who being convinced, and others who supposing the truth of what is here alledged, do either doubt or deny these things to be the proper effects of Prelacy, but rather

rather of the licentiousness of men, and such accidents which may be incident to the best constitutions: But if it be considered, 1. That that thing which inseparably and infallibly attends another, may with more than ordinary probability be concluded to depend thereon by a certain influence. 2. That that which is no ordinance of Jesus Christ, but the visible product of the devil's malice, and mens pride and lust, can never be effectual for the establishing of truth, or promoting of holiness. 3. That such who not only discover in themselves the foresaid evils, but by open and most notorious perjury, do usurp, and invade, and hold the offices they pretend to, must of necessity *hate the light, because their deeds are evil*; it will be very easily granted, that Prelacy, prelates, and their dependants, to whom all these things are clearly applicable, are not only the proper causes and authors of all the profanity and wickedness under which this poor land now perisheth; but most naturally introductive unto all these superstitions and abominations, wherein the devil, by the same means did, and hath involved the Christian world under the *Roman Papacy*.

4. The Prelates and curates being thus established, from the ground and warrant of the acts mentioned, several proclamations and edicts, for the more effectual execution thereof, and pressing conformity thereunto; and for the suppressing conscientious adherence to, or (so much as is possible) the very remembrance of our former engagements and covenants, and the holy ministry and government therein contained, are emitted and published. We have already mentioned that at *Glasgow*, and these others to the same purpose which did ensue upon it. The first that we here note is, That the Prelates conceiving that their persecutions already

practised and to be practised, might excite the compassion of some to a charitable supply of the afflicted; more to express their cruel malice than really to hinder that, which at best is not worth the noticing, under the pretext of *disorder*, they procure a *discharge* of charitable *collections*. And now let it be here observed once for all, that such is the cruelty, not only of the malice, but of the very acts, procured by the Prelates against conscientious non-conformists, that if they were followed with a suitable and complete execution, there should remain no comfort to any abiding stedfast, other than that of *Arcadius'* mercy to the children of traitors, *That life should be their grief, and death their relief*. There was another proclamation emitted, at the time of the first planting of the curates, *That all persons should keep their own parish churches, and should not repair to any other, except in case of vacancy, under pain of twenty shillings Scots, toties quoties*; to the effect that such as could not in conscience attend the curates conventicles, might be also deprived of any mean of edification, which the opportunity and neighbourhood of a faithful ministry might afford. Then thereafter there is another edict published against *unwarrantable preaching, praying, or hearing*; whereby even such exercises, without which the communion of saints can hardly be entertained, are restrained and discharged; in so much, that if a faithful outed minister should repair to any private family, or two or three more than the domesticks of one house be found together, though only employed in the most Christian and edifying exercises of praying, lecturing or godly conference, their meeting is declared an *unlawful conventicle*, and all such as are accessory, punishable accordingly. By a fourth proclamation, men are required *to be assistant to,*
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and concur with the curates in the exercise of discipline, as they shall be thereto called, though they be not told either by what warrant, or in what capacity they are to meddle in the matters of God; for our adversaries do both disown elders, and allow deacons no rule, There is a fifth proclamation, discharging all conventions and meetings whatsoever, under the pretence of religion, which are not allowed by authority, certifying all persons accessory, that they shall be looked upon and punished by pecuniary and corporal pains, as seditious persons, at the arbitrement of the council; and especially that the ministers exercising therein, and their reseters or countenancers in any sort, shall be liable unto the highest pains due to seditious persons. And lastly, there is a sixth, commanding all masters of families, to cause their servants, and all their dependents, and all heritors and landlords, to cause their tenants and tax-men to obey all acts of parliament or council enjoining conformity, and particularly to frequent their parish churches, and to submit and conform to the curates their ministry, or else to remove them summarly from their service, and eject them out of their possessions. And also, that heritors take bond and security of their intrans tenants in time coming, that they and their cotters and servants, shall give obedience, as said is: And lastly, that all magistrates of burghs cause their inhabitants give bond for the like obedience: for which effects, these heritors and magistrates are warranted to charge them under the pain of rebellion: and whosoever shall contravene this edict, is certified and declared liable to the same pains due to the non-conformists themselves, for whom he hereby is made answerable. This is the last act and proclamation for conformity, not only in course, but even in the utmost of extremity and rigour, whereby as many persons having a

freedom as to their own practice, are further urged, contrary to all the rules of charity and moderation, to compel others, towards whom they may rather desire a Christian forbearance and indulgence to be used; so the generality of the land, without any exception whatsoever, are reached, and obliged to all the compliance with, and conformity to this wicked apostacy, and accursed and abjured Prelacy, whereof they are capable; and that under such pains, as if generally incurred and execute, should infallibly reduce the land to utter desolation and confusion. But the Lord heareth and regardeth; and Oh! that men would also hear the voice of this poor church, that bewaileth herself and spreadeth out her hands, saying, *Woe is me now, for my soul is weary because of murderers.*

5. As we have observed the tyranny and illegality of the *high commission*, granted for executing these ecclesiastic acts and edicts, both in its constitution and procedure; so we do further observe, that whatever novelties and extravagancies the *commission* in itself contain, yet the practices of the court, having no other precedent in the Christian world, save that of the *Spanish Inquisition*, do far exceed them. For, 1. As persons are brought before them, either by seizure or summar citation, without any cause signified, but to answer *super inquirendis*, contrary to an express standing law, *Jam. VI. Parl. 10. Chap. 13. 1585.* which was also enacted, when the king's prerogative was fresh and in full vigour; so at their compareance, they have neither libel nor accuser, but are constrained instantly to make answer to whatsoever question the arbitrement of the arch-bishop pleaseth to demand. 2. As there is no time for advice permitted, so neither are lawful defences received or admitted; but if any person
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offer to propone any matter of that kind, he is required first to take the oath of supremacy, or some such engagement or subscription, which they are assured he will refuse. Thus, a gentleman of the name of *Porterfield*, being convened before them, and questioned for not owning the curate; he answered, That his not hearing the curate, could import no disaffection, nor bring him under the compass of the law, because the curate had calumniated him, by such vile opprobries and reproaches, as were both scandalous in a minister, and just ground of resentment to any ingenious spirit, as he was able to prove by sufficient witnesses: This the court having sustained as relevant, and the gentleman having adduced his witnesses, and one of them being examined, and clearly proving, all further procedure is stopped, and he required to take the oath of supremacy, which he having refused, they sentence him in a great pecuniary fine, and confine his person far north, to the town of *Elgin*. 3. If any person convened, do clearly answer all their questions and demands, so that he cannot be in that manner reached, then they require him in a most arbitrary way, either to take the oath of supremacy, or some other subscription, for obedience to ecclesiastic laws, or any other bond or security they please to require: In which their tyranny, they are so inconsequent, that they neither remember that laws made are to be obeyed, and not subscribed; and that obedience is secured by their own sanction, and not by the peoples hand-writing; nor that the main objection, by which they themselves do impugn the covenant, and whereon the declaration against it, is expressly founded, is that the same was taken by, and imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom, against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same; which

which is not more false, if applied to these holy covenants (which were expressly founded, both upon the word of God, and the free consent of the body of the people, and most necessarily intended for the glory of God, and the defence of religion and liberty; which are the foundations of all fundamentals, besides the accession of both law and authority, by which they were warranted) than true and evident in order to the case in hand; it being most certain, that whatever may be the extent of the peoples surrender under any constitution, for the enforcing of their obedience or submission, yet the liberty of persuasion is undoubtedly understood to be reserved, that it cannot be abridged, by any imposed oath or subscription, without their own consent. We know the council hath both the power, and is in use to take bond for keeping the peace, but this is a practice so clearly warranted by law, and so antecedently founded in reason and humanity, upon just and probable presumptions, to secure the peace by bond, which they might do by the persons imprisonment; that the parity is alleged with as little reason, as the practice controverted is void of equity: Notwithstanding of all which, there is but one course before the *commission court*, without mitigation, either to banish, or fine, or confine, (or both) the persons refusing. 4. If any do in his answers or demeanor offend, or be discovered thereby in the least to be guilty, they proceed to sentence, without any breathing or intermission; wherein they so little observe the warrant of their power and commission, that they oftentimes exceed all the proportion either of law or reason: For verifying whereof, let but the instances subjoined be considered, where we shall find persons,

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which neither their first nor second commission, bearing only power to *fine, confine, and imprison*, nor the laws whereupon they could proceed, give warrant to do. We know the first commission that was printed, was afterwards renewed with some extention, and not printed; but though some copies thereof in write were spread abroad, with power to *stigmatize* and *banish*, yet neither doth the principal contain any such warrant; nor can the extension therein made, infer the same in any sort; without admitting that the same court, consisting of many members, constituent of the secret council, might, *Proteus*-like, transfigure themselves into this form in a moment. 2. We shall find men sentenced not only to banishment, but to deportation and slavery, *viz.* to be carried to *Barbadoes*; where, being poor men, and not able to redeem their liberty, they must undoubtedly be sold: a punishment, which not only the disproportion of their delinquencies, but the whole tenor of our laws, and the undoubted privilege of Christianity, doth reprobate and condemn. These things duly considered and compared, it will be more than evident, that our oppressions and grievances, by reason of this court alone, do far exceed all the pressures and injuries of that *Spanish Inquisition*, whereupon the *United Provinces* have justified and approved their revolt from under the king of *Spain*, to all Protestant states and churches.

6. As these acts and proclamations are very wickedness; so their execution hath been only rigor and cruelty: It were endless to enumerate all the distresses that have hereupon ensued upon particular persons and families, unto the imprisonment of many, confinement of some, deportation of others to remote *Islands*, chasing of others to fore and
anxious

anxious wanderings, and scattering of families unto beggary. And who can conceive the wickedness and violence that did prompt the Prelates to the making of these acts and statutes, the arbitrary power of the high commission by which they were enforced, and the rage, violence and rapine that attends military force, by which they were and are executed, may possibly conceive some part of these evils; which, lest the strangeness thereof do render altogether improbable to men unacquainted, we shall here subjoin a few instances of many, of the procedures of the high commission court, leaving these of military force unto a more proper place. The parish of *Ancrum* had been in former times under the blessing of Mr. *John Livingston* his ministry, who being banished the kingdom for no other cause than his eminency and steadfastness in the work of God, and refusing the oath of supremacy, there is obtruded by the bishop upon them in his place, one *Scot*, an old excommunicate curate, continuing under that sentence, and in his wickedness that procured the same, for which cause mainly, he is now complemented and rewarded with the accession of this kirk and benefice, to two others, which he still brooks and enjoys; though very far distant from this place. This man coming amongst them, such as feared the Lord, and remembered his work and covenant, are stirred up in the zeal of God to testify against his intrusion, whom, being a person excommunicate, entering by gross perjury, without their consent, and only seeking after the fleece and benefice, all that love our Lord Jesus and the prospering of his pleasure, were bound to abhor and detest: we do not justify any excess of human passion that might here have been admixed with the sincere zeal of God, which we are certain in its worst appearance

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all men ought rather to excuse, than therefore condemn that duty, to which not only the people of that parish, but the whole Church of Scotland were and are in a higher measure indispensibly obliged, in opposition to the present course of apostacy, and extirpation of the apostate Prelates. However four men of the parish are convened before the high commission, where being examined, they acknowledge, that Mr. *Scot* being to preach at *Ancrum* as their minister, they found themselves pressed in conscience to declare to him their dissatisfaction with his entry, and that they were present with the rest of the people which were there at that time. This the commission, contrary to the opinion of the more sober, and most knowing amongst them, take for a confession of guilt, and immediately proceed to sentence them, *as contemners of the ordinances, to be scourged through the town, stigmatized with the letter T. at the cross of Edinburgh, and with the first ship to be carried to the Barbadoes Islands.* All which was accordingly performed upon them. *Thus judgment is turned into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into hemlock.* But God who sustained his servants with that constancy and courage, that neither the shame nor pain of scourging, and burning, hindered them openly and audibly to rejoice in the Lord, God who counted them worthy to suffer for his name, beholdeth also mischief and spite, to requit it with his hand. For the same alledged crime, shortly thereafter they sentenced two brothers, married men, to be carried to *Barbadoes*, and their sister, a young woman, to be scourged through the town of *Jedburgh*. As for alledged conventicling, there is one Mr. *Smith* a minister seized upon and imprisoned, for no other crime than preaching to, and praying with a few secretly assembled for fear
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of the Prelates, in the name of the Lord, without the least offence objected from any thing there spoken; who being brought before the *commission*, and in his examination and answers to the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, calling him only *Sir*, without *Lord* or *Grace*, he is therefore taxed by the *commissioner*, to whom he answered very respectfully, giving him his accustomed titles, that he knew he was speaking to Mr. *James Sharp*, once a minister as he himself is. Whereupon there is so great offence conceived, that the *commissioner* did immediately ordain him to be carried by the *Town-Hangman* to the *thieves-hole*, and there laid in irons, in company with a furious fatuous person, who was there loose: an indignity so great, unusual and insolent, that altho' he had behaved himself not only rudely in his demeanor, (which is the worst that his adversaries can charge him with) but had been most flagitious in his life; yet nothing but that spirit of spite and rebellion that rageth in apostates, could prompt Christians to inflict upon one, who had ever carried so much as the title of a minister. But because the open iron gate, whereby this *hole* is shut, gave too great access to the charity and compassion of many persons who came to visit him, he is therefore upon the third day thereafter carried up to the *iron-house* within the *tolbooth*, and continued in irons and fetters, and thereafter in close prison, until by sentence of the same *commission*, he was banished and confined to *Zetland*, the coldest and wildest of all the *Scots* Islands; where he was to expect no other comfort, than the company of some other faithful men, who for owning and submitting to the curates, had been carried there by sentence of the same court. And as they did thus sentence a minister for exercising, so the same court having convened before them an honest private man —

Black,

Black, for being present at an alledged conventicle, but in effect, at the meeting of a few Christians for praying and hearing the Lord's word, without so much as any other offence pretended; because, according to the example and warrant of the primitive Christians, he refused to give his oath, and thereupon to delate the names of such as he knew to have been present, and because he was not liberal in giving *St. Andrews* his titles, the *commissioner* ordaineth him to be scourged through the town; although it was well known to the court, that his information could give very small evidence, and they were convinced, that his refusal did not flow from contempt of the king's authority, but merely and purely from scruple of conscience. These are a few instances of many particulars of this kind which might be alledged, whereof there is no corner in the whole country, nor parish almost in the West which cannot give evidence; and therefore we do remit any more ample confirmation of these things, until we have noted a few more particulars for clearing thereof.

7. As we have observed the wickedness of these ecclesiastic laws, and the iniquity and irregularity of the act of fineing, and the introducing of execution by military force; (a servitude unheard of and intolerable in any free nation) so the evils and oppressions thereof can scarcely be numbered. For,
1. Upon pretence of that proclamation, commanding people to keep their parish-churches, and prohibiting the repairing to any other, except in case of vacancy, under the pain of twenty shillings *Scots*, *toties quoties*, the soldiers being disposed upon to such places which are known to be most averse from this course of apostacy, lying at catch for their own advantage, have often taken the opportunity, where there was but one church in the bounds still enjoy.

enjoying a faithful minister, and many vacancies about, to go and beset that church in the time of divine worship, to the profane disturbance thereof; and thereafter either to cause call some old roll of the parishioners, and exact the fine of twenty shillings *Scots* of all others, without exception, or respect even to the licence contained in the proclamation itself in case of vacancy; or to require an oath of every person, to know to what parish they belong, and that at the church-door, without permitting them to come forth, until they either give their oath, or pay the fine; not only with such cursing, swearing, and confusion, as would make infidels amazed to see the Lord's day so profaned, by Christians professing the same common faith; but with such rigor, by taking by force the Bibles or garments from some poor persons, who have not wherewith to pay; and insolent beating and wounding of others, to the effusion of blood, as may justify the greatest barbarity. We need not instance particulars in a truth so universally known. We proceed to another kind of this same violence, practised in other places where curates are planted, who, to force and compel the people to that compliance with their ministry, which in conscience they are bound to abhor, cause form lists or rolls of such as keep not the church, and calling them after sermon, both men and women by name and surname, they amerciate the absents in such sums and fines as they please; and, for the most part, far exceeding the pains contained in the act of parliament; whereupon the soldiers are immediately warranted to go and exact the same by quartering. Which practice is not more unjust in its illegal and summar procedure, than rigid and exorbitant; both as to the quantity, and the manner of exacting it, by reason of their riding and quartering-money (which is there-

therewith exacted) and the other inconveniencies which inseparably attend the rapine and violence of profane soldiers. 2. In many places, not contented thus to fine and exact, the soldiers, on the Lord's day, go to private houses, and by plain force compel and drive to the church all such as they find, and oftentimes do insolently beat and abuse persons, who, by reason of infirmity or sickness, are really unable: A practice so cruel and absurd, that some of themselves have said, It was our Lord's way to *drive buyers and sellers out of the temple*, but not to drive them into it. 3. As to the exacting and levying of the parliaments fines, the same was done (by a reference of the *council* to the *commissioner*, and his orders thereon) in such an oppressive and exorbitant manner as cannot be paralleled. For, 1. Parties of horse being directed to several shires, when a party arrived in any shire, they direct their order to all the persons therein fined, intimating to them, and every one of them, to pay their respective fines, with three shillings *Sterling, per diem*, for every horse-man in the party, from the day and date of their order, until the fine be payed, and the payment signified to the commander of the party: By which extortions, many have been compelled to pay more for quartering, than the sum and quantity of their fine; and during the time of these oppressions, many have computed that the sheriffdoms of *Ayr* and *Renfrew*, were compelled to pay upon the account of quartering, over and above the fines, betwixt two and three thousand merks *Scots per diem*. 2. There was no defence nor exemption allowed against these quarterings; for whether the person fined did liberate himself by taking the *Declaration*, or that it was alledged that he was minor, or an infant, or never charged; or that his predecessor charged was since deceased,

deceased, or that his predecessor was never charged, yea died before he was fined, or that the person quartered on, was only relict of the person fined, (a poor widow living upon a mean jointure,) or that the person quartered on had no relation to the person fined, save that he lived in the house and place which once pertained to him, and which this person lawfully purchased, even before the other was fined; yet all this was repelled, and no complaint of this rigor and violence could be heard or received; but, on the contrary, the complainer, (especially if he refused to take the *Declaration*) was rejected with most insolent reproaches and menaces.

3. That both in the up-lifting of the fine, and exacting of the quarterings, the extremity of rigor was used, by dragging some to prison, who either were known altogether indigent and insolvent, or did offer to renounce the benefit of the *act* of indemnity, (the forfaulture whereof was the alternative and utmost certification for not payment of the fine, contained in the *act* of *fining*) or by plundering, beating and spoiling others, without possibility of redress. We need not adduce particular instances for the verification of these things, seeing they were not done in a corner: but the cry of this violence as it filled the whole land; so no doubt it also reached unto the very heavens, and is *entered into the ears of him, who hateth violence, and loveth righteousness; who saith unto princes, remove violence and spoil, and execute judgment and justice, and take away your exactions from my people.* One thing mainly to be considered is, That as Prelacy is the great cause of all the sin and misery that afflicteth us; so was it by the instigation of the same wicked apostates, that these fines, so long delayed, were thus at length rigorously exacted; and that for no other purpose, than the levying of more forces

forces for their security and support, and the better strengthening of their tyranny. Certainly were it not of the Lord, who, because of our contempt of his glorious gospel, and blessed ministry, hath plagued us with stupidity, and smitten us with madness, blindness, and astonishment of heart, to give unto us the reward of our own hands, and to cause us to eat the fruit of our doings, it were impossible that rational men, after the feeling of so sore grievances, and the teaching of so many and sad experiences, should still couch under the burden, and submit themselves to the yoke of a few insignificant apostate upstarts, and not rather acquit themselves like men, by pulling off these vizards of religion, under which they mask their villanies, and plucking them out of that sanctuary and great refuge of loyalty, which they do not more pretend than profane, by all their horrid rebellion against God, and their cruel persecutions of his faithful servants, and the king's true subjects, which they palliate under this pretext; to the effect that, in the righteous and deserved punishment of these wicked men, both the sin and backsliding of the land might be sisted, and the fierce anger of the Lord averted.

This is the wickedness and violence of accursed Prelacy, which though it hath diffused itself over the whole land, and left no corner thereof untouched; yet as the *West* hath been more grievously thereby oppressed and afflicted, so poor *Galloway*, in a manner, hath been the point in which all its malice and tyranny hath been centred. We need not here search after particulars, or be curious for the verification thereof; the cries and groans of that afflicted country have filled all mens ears, and the desolations thereof are obvious to every one's eyes: Nor need we insist to purge their innocence, or clear the causes of their sufferings, which were

no other than their adherance to their faithful ministers, though casten out and rejected by men, yet continuing, thro' the grace of God, to preach amongst them, and their detestation of a crew of unworthy curates, scatterers and devourers, not pastors of the flock, thrust in amongst them more violently than upon any other part of the country. The thing we have here to observe is, That the manner of their persecution was first and last by plain *hostile invasion*. After which manner Sir *James Turner* with his forces, (having twice before been amongst them) in *March* 1666, with greater power and fury than ever formerly, marcheth against them: where being arrived, what exactions, oppressions, and insolencies, he and his forces committed, by arbitrary fining, plundering, quartering, imprisoning, beating, wounding, binding men like beasts, chasing to moors and mountains, and by harassing and laying both parishes and country-sides almost wholly desolate; the ruin and beggary of several hundreds of families, and the impoverishing and great distress of many others do abundantly testify: And yet after all these atrocious injuries, by the contrivance and authority of the *bishop* of *Galloway*, (who sometimes appeared so zealous for the covenant and work of God, that, frequently in his administration of the sacrament of the Lord's supper to the people of his own parish, while he was a private minister, when they were set at table, and ready to participate, he caused them to renew the oath of the Covenant, subjoining thereto both that solemnity, and these words used by *Nehemiah*, chap. v. 13. when, in the like case, he did shake his lap, and said, *So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not this promise, even thus be he shaken out and emptied*) by the prescription, we say, of the same *bishop* and his synod, these poor

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oppressed people, after all these exactions, are urged and compelled to subscribe an acknowledgment that *Sir James had used them civilly and discreetly*; whereby they were forced not only to deny common sense, and lay aside their just resentments, but by this their subscription, which might be opposed to all their complaints, they were virtually excluded from all hope of redress. All which things are not only confirmed by the notoriety of the matter of fact, but are also by that grievous and mournful paper of their sufferings, most amply cleared and instructed. To which though *Sir James* hath made an answer for his own vindication, yet seeing the same doth, for the most part, resolve in a simple denial (which it was easy for him to make, having neither accuser nor contradicter) and he at most giveth only an account of, and vindicateth his orders, without so much as denying the excess, that might have ensued in that military way of execution, (expressly waving to answer the extortions of these parties, which were commissioned for civil fines) any further reply were superfluous.

This poor people having continued and lain under all these miseries, for the space of seven months and upward after *Sir James* his third invasion, and thereby witnessed not only their very firm and Christian patience towards God; but also given a greater testimony of their loyalty and submission to the king's commands, than all the flattering professions of these their adversaries (who rather than to suffer the hundredth part of these hardships, would curse both God and their king) will amount to: And knowing, by sad experience, that both separate petitioning had been by *Sir James* insolently rejected, and that joint petitioning was by act of parliament condemned, and consequently all hope this way being cut off, upon a very accidental and

indeliberate occasion, they were stirred up, and gave the rise to the actions and commotions following; which was thus,

Sir *James* still breathing forth persecutions; upon the 13th of *November* last, ordereth four foldiers, from *Dumfries* to the parish of *Dalry* in *Galloway*, to poind a poor old man's goods; and in case they should find none, to seize and apprehend his person, and bring him prisoner to *Dumfries*. The foldiers, in prosecution of this order, apprehending the old innocent man, bind him hand and foot like a beast, and lay him bound upon the ground, ready to be carried along. When two or three of his neighbours, commoved with so great an indignity, come and desire the foldiers to loose him; they, instead of satisfying their desire, suddenly assault the country-men, with their swords drawn, and necessitate them to their own defence; whereupon one of the foldiers being wounded, the other three throw down their arms, and the poor man is relieved. The country-men having thus acquitted themselves against these first aggressors, in prosecution of their own necessary defence, against the violence of ten or twelve more foldiers, who were oppressing in the same parish (whom now they had greater cause to fear than before) upon the morrow thereafter, with the assistance of six or seven whom they joined to themselves, they quietly seize upon and secure them, all of them rendering their arms, except one who was killed in his resistance. After this, the country being a little hereby alarmed, but most of all determined by their former sad experience, that Mr. *James* would certainly avenge himself, of this affront, upon the whole country, without distinction of free and unfree, and that in fury and rage, as far exceeding his former persecutions, as the cause was different; they

they gather to the number of forty-five horsemen and some few footmen, and instantly resolving upon it, they march towards *Dumfries*; where, upon the 15th of *November*, they take Sir *James* prisoner, and disarm the soldiers that were with him, without harm or violence to any, except the wounding of one man who made more obstinate resistance. Being thus, by the over-ruling hand of divine providence, and the force of irresistible necessity, more than by any human contrivance, engaged in a business of this importance, beyond all hope of retreat; and considering how many in the *West* and elsewhere, did groan under the yoke of this wicked Prelacy, and did suffer by their tyranny, whom the just apprehension of that rigor and cruelty, to which the report of what had happened would enrage the adversaries against all without distinction, might persuade, yea, necessitate to a conjunction; they from *Dumfries* move towards the *West*. In the mean time the report being brought to the council, the archbishop presiding and over-ruling in it, Lieut. general *Dalziel* is immediately ordered to march with all the forces towards *Glasgow*; which accordingly was done, with more haste, rage, and fury, than if ten thousand infidels had with fire and sword invaded the land: and a proclamation is emitted against the rebels (as they called them) risen in arms in *Galloway*, *Ayr*, and other places of the *West*, (when at this time there were not forty men in the sheriffdom of *Ayr*, who had joined with them) declaring this insurrection to be manifest and horrid rebellion, and therefore charging the persons accessory, to lay down arms within twenty-four hours after publication, without any assurance of indemnity offered; and lastly, commanding the whole subjects to be assisting to the Lieut. general, and being required by him or others in authority,

thority, to rise in arms, and assist with all their power, under the pain of rebellion. A proclamation so full of fury and madness, not only rendering such as were in arms desperate without hope, except in the cruel mercy of the wicked Prelates; but also engaging all without distinction, either actively to concur to the destroying of these poor, innocent and afflicted people, or else to prepare themselves for suffering the same pains and punishment, that it may be justly wondred at, that even the single motive of this proclamation, did not procure to these *Galloway* men, a greater concourse. But that poor handful being come towards the *West*, and some hundreds there, (whom partly the like pressures and fears of worse; but most of all, the sense and remembrance of the indispensable obligation of the holy Covenant, for mutual sympathy and defence, and our uttermost endeavours all the days of our lives to prosecute the great and blessed ends thereof, did thereto determine) having in the sincerity and simplicity of their hearts, joined themselves to that company, most harmlessly and inoffensively, without the least violence or exaction done to any, they march through the country until they come to *Lanerk*. Where, upon the consideration of the Lord's wrath, imminent upon the whole land by reason of the breach of the Covenant, and the many horrid sins thereon ensuing, and the apprehensions of his holy displeasure yet continuing, (whereof, by many visible and afflicting signs and tokens, they were most sadly convinced) as men reduced to the last extremity, and in great distress (after the example of *Nehemiah* and the *Jews*, *Neh.* chap. ix. and x. in the like case) they resolve and do renew the *Solemn League and Covenant*: That (at least) by this action they might bear testimony, both to the oppressed cause
and

and truth of God, and their own innocency. From *Lanerk* upon the 26th of *November* they march to *Bathgate*, and the morrow thereafter to *Collington*, a place about two miles distant from *Edinburgh*. That same night *Lieut. general Dalziel* coming to *Calder*, there is a *cessation* agreed to betwixt them for that night, and until, upon the morrow, their grievances and petition might be presented to the council; which they for that effect send to *Dalziel*, to be by him transmitted. But as, notwithstanding of this *cessation*, (and tho' the same was timely signified to the *bishop* as *president* of the council, yet) the country troops levied about *Edinburgh*, were not restrained from making an in-fall upon their quarters, where they rested securely upon the trust of the *cessation*; so upon the morrow, before almost they were aware, and without giving up the *cessation* agreed to, *Dalziel* finding a nearer way, doth almost surprize them: Whereupon they endeavoured to march off, but finding the enemy so near, they are constrained to stand to, and prepare for that conflict upon the south of *Pentland hills*: wherein the *Lieut. general's* forces and theirs being engaged, the very time and hour that the gentleman sent by *Dalziel* to the council, was presenting his letters, and the *Westland* men's grievances; these poor men not exceeding eight or nine hundreds, and extremely weakened and spent by sore travel and watching, and mostly by their fasting and great abstinence, are (according to the holy, wise, and determinate counsel of God) a little after sun-set routed and dissipated. The number of the slain on both sides were reckoned, about forty and upwards of the *Westland men*, and four or five of the general's forces. The number of the prisoners was greater, amounting in all to one hundred and thirty and upward:

ward: But, because the threed of this story hath precipitated our narration to this fatal period, the observations following will supply what is emitted.

1. That these men who rose in the *West*, were not only (for the most part) persons of known and very examplar integrity, piety and zeal for God, and all of them (severally and jointly) so far from base and turbulent designs, that they cannot be supponed by any, who knew them, to have been ambitious of either rule or riches; but also did, with the same straightness and sincerity, in all parts declare, that their only motives were the rigor of extreme necessity, which constrained them to the defence of religion and liberty, and the conscience of that indispensable duty, we all owe to God and one to another, in the bond of the holy Covenant; and in the innocency of a most harmless deportment, did fully conform themselves to these professions: so that it may truly be affirmed, that a company of more sincere, upright and harmless men, did never in any age appear in such a posture. Which as it doth eminently appear, in their sparing and civil usage of Sir *James Turner*, and their great abstinence and moderation in all places; not only from plunder and such insolencies, but even from the necessary means of subsistence; so it is a truth so certain, that all their enemies (save a few profane curates, who spare no lyes whereby they may vent their malice) must and do acknowledge it.

2. That as in many places, there were many found who joined themselves to the Lieut. general's forces, to assist against and suppress that faithful afflicted company; so the militia of *Edinburgh* (by order from the *secret council* to the *town council*, and from the *town council* to the several captains, who did administrate it to their respective companies)

nies) did, in opposition to the same persons, take the following oath, viz. *I shall be true and faithful to the king, and shall defend his authority and maintain the same, against this insurrection and rebellion, and any other that shall happen, with the hazard of my life and fortune*: And the two shires of *Middle and East Lothians* did arm very readily against them. But whether this insurrection was in rebellion against the king, or whether this conjuration, and these practices, were not a manifest conspiracy and horrid rebellion against the great God, a few reflections on what we have premised shall hereafter clear.

3. That as only the force of necessity, from the rigor of their persecutions, and the cutting off of all liberty to petition or hope of redress, did compel the *Westland* men to this course; so upon the first appearance and most slender insinuation of liberty, to represent grievances to these in authority, they very willingly and readily embrace the opportunity, and signified to the *council*, that the only evil under which the land perisheth, is the erecting of this wicked and tyrannous *Prelacy*, contrary to the holy Covenant; and the cruel oppression, both of body and conscience, of all that desire to continue faithful therein: But how they were abused in this offer and transaction, we have before related.

4. That though the wicked Prelates (for the greater exaltation of their pride and triumph, both over God and his cause) have boldly affirmed, that these men were by certain faithful ministers persuaded and brought out, in the full assurance of most certain victory; and that their cause was such, that upon the event they could venture their salvation: yet the contrary is most certainly known, and that they came out, for the most part, most voluntarily

voluntarily and of their own accord; thinking it their duty (as one of them in his testimony doth declare) to appear for and help the Lord against the mighty: And that, though they had and still retain a most firm persuasion of the justice of the Lord's cause and covenant, and a very confident assurance that the Lord will arise and own it, to the utter confusion of his adversaries; yet, knowing that times and seasons are in the Lord's hand, and that the time hath already been, when such *who had indignation, and whose heart was against the holy covenant, did prosper, and by arms pollute the sanctuary of strength, and place the abomination that maketh desolate, wherein, though the people that did know their God, were strong and did exploits, yet did they fall by the sword, and by flame, and by captivity, and by spoil many days.* These men did neither limit the holy One, nor balance their resolution upon the assurance of future events: yea, the fear and apprehension of these many visible signs attending this action, whereby the Lord's standing controversy and continuing displeasure against the land, for fearful breach of covenant, and the many horrible sins that have ensued (which then more than ever were discovered, both in the actual opposition of many, and faint withdrawing of others, of whom better things were looked for) did justly make them conceive, that as the Lord, who hath ever glorified his own name, would also now glorify it, both in their active and passive testimony (a seal which his work and cause, hath not hitherto so visibly had) And that they were rather thereto called, than to be the land's *deliverers*; for which, all that fear the Lord, may think with trembling, greater judgments are yet ordained.

5. That amongst the many observable providences of God, whereby he brought this action to its period,

period, their turning from *Lanerk* towards *Edinburgh*, and leaving the *West*, especially these parts where many faithful men were preparing for a conjunction, doth bear the very eminent characters of the Lord's work and purpose, which he hath since made manifest; and was the occasion of the proscribing of several both ministers and gentlemen, as we shall hereafter mention.

6. That as the *Lothian*-men were very active in appearing against this faithful company; so after the conflict, they were very vigilant and inhuman to take and spoil all such flyers as they rencountred: a sin which no doubt, by reason of its great aggravations, the Lord will require with greater severity than that of *Edom*, *Obad. 12. &c.* who rejoiced over the children of *Judah* in the day of their destruction, and laid hands on their substance in the day of their calamity, who stood in the cross way to cut off such as did escape, and delivered up these that did remain in the day of distress; and therefore he is threatned by the Lord, that for his violence against his brother, shame should cover him, and he should be cut off for ever.

Thus we have seen the indignation of the Lord, in the most dreadful and astonishing of all judgments, even his suffering and causing the righteous to fall before the wicked, in delivering the soul of his turtle dove unto the multitude of the wicked, his name unto reproach and blasphemy, his strength into captivity, and his glory into the enemies hands: a providence that may justly move our astonishment to a greater height than that of *Josuah*, chap. vii. 9. *Oh Lord, what wilt thou do unto thy great name?* And how terrible are the charge and succeeding judgments which these things do denounce? But the Lord who in wrath remembers mercy, maketh both judgment and mercy his peoples song;
and

and it is to his enemies alone, that a cup without mixture is poured out; as the things which follow will declare.

The *Arch-bishop* of *St. Andrews* having caused celebrate the report of this victory, with almost as many guns from the *castle* as there were men slain in the fields, and as if the 40 had been 40,000 infidels, the prisoners are brought in, and secured. We cannot but here mention the ready and charitable relief, which many good people in *Edinburgh* did then extend to them; certainly it is gone up for a memorial before God, and shall have a return. But who can express the malice of that antichristian spirit, raging both in the *arch-prelate* and his dependents, which misery itself doth not satiate, and therefore they do so exclaim against this poor expression of humanity, as preposterous and favouring of disaffection, that even some of their own accomplices did condemn them for it.

The *council* falling immediately to the examination of the prisoners, they remit first ten, thereafter fourteen to the *justices* to be arraigned or rather condemned as traitors, they having first determined and prescribed the very manner of their execution: and about the same time the *commissioner* going *West*, with some others impowered for that effect, do likewise at *Ayr* and *Glasgow* condemn other sixteen. These things we do join together, because both their indictments, manner of tryal, doom and execution were the same, except in so far as shall be noted. The indictment and charge of treason exhibited against all, consisted of two heads and crimes, deduced from old and late acts of parliament, and aggravated by many circumstances, viz. *rising and gathering in arms, and renewing the covenant without and against the king's authority and consent*: every one's particular accession was libelled

libelled from, and proven by his own confession before the *council*. This place might require a large digression for answering the crimes objected, and clearing the innocency of the Lord's witnesses; but seeing the preceding narration doth not only furnish all argument thereto requisite, but warranteth them by precedents beyond contradiction, it shall suffice now to observe.

1. That God the fountain of all power, and author of all right, as, wherever he hath granted to any creature a being, he hath also armed it with a love and power of *self-preservation* suitable to its capacity; so much more, where, unto a being, he hath superadded a right, as in all rational creatures, which cannot be violated but both by force and injury, hath he granted both the power and right of *self-defence*, which is really one and the same thing with it, and in effect nothing else but that divine impress and rational instinct, whereby the very course of nature is upholden, so inseparable from the being and right of the creature, that it never ceaseth, except whereby the sovereign will and law of God, the right is first annulled and the being may be destroyed. Which *position*, being the clear and true foundation of all rule and righteousness, and even of the being of all things, it may justly be wondered, that men should be found, who deny and would subvert it in its first, principal and most immediate effects. But if according hereunto any will subsume and prove, that either by the Lord's ordaining of powers, or mens surrender and submission thereto, (made mainly for self-preservation, the foresaid right and power was or could be revoked or renounced, we shall most willingly quite the plea, and prostitute ourselves to all the violences, that tyranny can invent, since in that case there could be no injury.

2. That

2. That as all ſocieties, governments and laws are appointed in a due ſubordination to God and his ſuperior will and law, for his glory, and the common good of the people, including the ſafety of every individual; ſo, if either this ſubordination be notoriously infringed, or theſe ends intolerably perverted, the common tie of both ſociety, government and law, is in ſo far diſſolved. Hence it is that a king, or rulers, commanding things directly contrary to the law of God, may be, and have been juſtly diſobeyed; and by fury or folly deſtroying or alienating the kingdom, may be, and have been lawfully reſiſted. Theſe are concluſions which our greateſt adverſaries cannot but admit, and are not deducible from any other premiſſes. Let us hear king *James*, whoſe loyalty none can doubt, in a ſpeech to the parliament in the year 1609, he ſaith, *A king degenerateth into a tyrant, when he leaveth to rule by law, much more when he beginneth to invade his ſubjects perſons, rights and liberties, to ſet up an arbitrary power, impoſe unlawful taxes, raiſe forces, make war upon his ſubjects, to pillage, plunder, waſte and ſpoil his kingdoms.* And leſt his inconſequence be ſuſpected, as if notwithstanding all this, he would have a tyrant incontrollable, it is upon the ſame grounds, that in his answer to *Cardinal Perron*, he juſtifieth the Proteſtants in *France* their deſenſive arms; now, how a diſcretive judgment in theſe caſes, both of unrighteous commands, and wicked violence, and eſpecially in the latter, which is by far the more ſenſible, doth neceſſarily remain with the people; and in what manner the ſame is to be determined and cautioned, ſo as neither to liſenſe diſobedience againſt authority, nor create ſedition in the commonwealth, is already fully cleared.

3. That though all ſovereign powers, upon the
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supposition of these true and great ends, and the presumption of reason and charity, that the persons intrusted do in like manner really intend them, be constituted indefinitely, and therefore in appearance universally without restriction; yet, according to this known rule, That such particulars, as if expressed, would not, far more, if they cannot, be consented to, are not understood to be comprised under a general condescendence, such exceptions and limitations as are indispensably implied, and could not lawfully be expressly renounced, do stand in full force. Whereupon also both the righteousness of God's judgments, and the lawfulness of the peoples resistance against mal-verfing powers, are clearly and certainly founded.

4. That not only the light of nature, and undeniable reason, together with the agreeable practice of all nations, especially of our ancestors, do evidently clear these principles proposed, but also our own express statutes declaring the revealed word and will of God to be the superior rule and law, and repealing all acts repugnant thereto, *Jam. VI. Parl. 1. chap. 3. 4. and 8.* and explaining such acts as were generally made against unlawful convocations, leagues and bonds among subjects, to be understood with this due subordination and limitation, *Carl. I. Parl. 1. cap. 29.* together with the king and peoples oaths of faithful administration and allegiance: whereby the coronation-covenant and contract, especially that made with the king (the very bond of the kingdom) is established and secured, undoubtedly infer, beyond all contradiction, that both our government and laws are constituted, and to be interpreted with *subordination to the law and will of God*, and in order to these great ends of their establishment.

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5. That

5. That though prevailing factions have in all times, endeavoured, by their most excessive and boundless flatteries, to exalt and extend the powers to an equal degree of absoluteness in all causes and over all persons, merely for their own base ends and private advantages; yet if any of these persons would seriously consider, and would ingenuously declare their opinion, in a particular application of the case to themselves, what they would account lawful for them to do, either jointly or separately, in case that they were injuriously and violently invaded, to the destruction of their lives or fortunes, or the subversion of their families and dearest and nearest concernments, their resolution in this point would easily justify the practices of all such, who esteeming the glory of God, and the maintenance of his gospel, infinitely preferable to all other interests whatsoever, do valiantly offer and expose themselves for the vindication thereof, to the greatest hazards.

6. That through the manifest and notorious perversion of the great ends of society and government, the bond thereof being dissolved, the persons, one or more thus liberated therefrom, do relapse into their primeve liberty and privilege, and accordingly as the similitude of their case, and exigence of their cause doth require, may, upon the very same principles again, join and associate for their better defence and preservation, as they did at first enter into societies.

7. That we being a nation so solemnly and expressly engaged by covenant unto God, and one with another, for the advancing and promoting of these holy and important ends therein contained, there lieth upon all and every one of us, an indispensable duty, by all possible means, to promote the same, not only in our own conscientious and exemplary walking,

walking, and serious admonition and exhortation towards others; but also in endeavouring, in case of defection, a national reformation, and valiant vindication of the glory of God, and his work and cause, against all incorrigible apostates; as we would not, by conniving at their sin, be partakers of their judgment; and as we would, by destroying the *accursed* from amongst us, avert the imminent wrath of God from the whole land and nation. Which *position*, as we clearly before asserted, both from the profession and practice of our first Reformers; so, that qualification in the covenant, of *our endeavours, in our places and callings*, is most agreeable thereto; seeing the same doth plainly import, that as every one is to confine himself to his own place, and move in his own sphere, while all in their respective capacities do harmoniously concur in the same work and duty; so, if any in higher place and employment, do not only become remiss and forgetful of the oath of God; but, according to the extent and influence of their power, would seduce and corrupt their inferiors unto their apostacy; it is both their place, to resist such wickedness and violence, and their calling, to endeavour either the reformation or removal of these who prove so contrary to, and obstructive of the ends whereunto they are ordained. Neither can this inference appear unwarranted or hard unto any who will impartially consider, that though the same qualification doth in the like manner affect and define all duties whatsoever, which we owe either to God or our country; yet it were most absurd thence to infer, that if these more eminently intrusted, should either turn directly apostates and enemies to the Christian faith, or adversaries and destroyers of the commonwealth, the people of an inferior degree might not step forward to occupy the places, and

assert the interests, which these wicked men had so traiterously forfeited and deserted. All which must necessarily be granted, if it be but rightly considered, that as *order*, and the observance thereof, is only a mean subordinate to, and intended for the glory of God, and the good of the people; so must all the regulation and determination thereof be only admitted, in so far as it is conducive, and no ways to render it destructive or repugnant to these great ends of its appointment. From all which we clearly conclude, that these words in the covenant *of places and callings*, are no more restrictive in the cases above-mentioned, than a general's command to his soldiers entering in battle, being thus qualified, doth impede the necessity of succession, in case of the vacancy of any charge, either through death or desertion, requisite for the obtaining of the proposed end of victory; but that they are in effect (especially the antecedent and subjoined words, *sincerely, really and constantly, all the days of our life*, being considered) rather exegetic and ampliative.

8. That whatsoever laws, covenants and engagements were standing and binding unto us, before this late fearful apostacy and defection, they are still, in the sight of God, and in the consciences of all that fear his name, and mind his glory, the rather more strong and obliging, than in the least infringed or dissolved: It being impossible that such sacred oaths, so solemnly sworn unto the most High, and such righteous laws by virtue thereof statuted and enacted, for the carrying on and establishment of the work of God thereby intended, should be ambulatory and mutable at the pleasure of men; especially of such, who, without regard of God, conscience, honour or honesty, have, in the very pride and power of wickedness, not only broken the Lord's bands, casten away his cords, and violently,
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under the pretext of abused authority, overturned his whole work; but done despite against the same, both by ignominious burning and blaspheming of the Lord's holy covenant. And this *position Rescissory*, we oppose unto their great *Act Rescissory*, and to all acts and practices of the like nature antecedent thereto, or dependent thereupon. Being fully persuaded, that though now they appear unequally ballanced, yet that *the Lord shall declare from heaven his righteousness, and laugh at his enemies acts and devises, and have them in derision.*

9. That though we do heartily approve the *due veneration and just esteem of lawful authority*, the great and excellent ordinance of God, who, to prevent all prejudice that it may incur, and inconvenience that may ensue thereon, do so far transmit this respect to the person therewith vested, as to hold for a maxim (but indeed equally against religion, reason and experience) that *the king doth no wrong*; and though we are persuaded, that the true rise and cause of the sin and calamity under which we ly, is from the malice, perjury, flattery and violence of that antichristian spirit ruling in the apostate Prelates; and therefore would willingly cloath ourselves, even in the sight of man, with that ample allowance and full authority, whereby the king did once approve the holy covenant, and countenance the Lord's work, as if the same did yet stand, as it ought, not retracted or repeal'd: Yet seeing our late parliament by their *second act, session second*, have reprobated and discharged all pretences of authority in this kind, notwithstanding that the same hath been and may be most necessary in many cases, for the preserving of the kingdom, and salving of state inconveniencies; we do therefore rather subsist on the former grounds, and turn our complaint and prayer unto God, who is the great

King over all, *looking for his appearance, and waiting for his salvation.*

10. That the glory of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, the defence and maintenance of the blessed gospel, and its precious ministry and ordinances, are duties and concernments infinitely more important, than the defence and preservation of our lives, liberties, and the commonwealth, against the most barbarous and horrid violences and injuries that can be imagined: Likeas, the violation and destruction of all these is so evidently designed, and wickedly practised, by this late and present apostacy, that a clearer ground and cause of self-defence and reformation cannot possibly be supposed; so that to condescend to answer the peevish clamours of these neutral and careless men, who say, *what needeth all this noise for the extrinsic and arbitrary forms of government and modes of worship, both with and without which, religion and righteousness have equally flourished and prospered?* were to shut our eyes from beholding the glory and grace of God, that in this land hath so visibly appeared in, and been advanced by this great ordinance of *Presbytery*, by himself, for that end appointed; and also from the observing of these deluges of profanity, wickedness, superstition and violence, which the devil, by his great engine of *Prelacy*, hath always, and in all churches, caused and procured.

11. That such was the state, condition and engagements of this church and kingdom, at the time of the king's return, and before the re-erecting of this Prelacy, that all and every one of the nation were most strictly obliged *sincerely, really and constantly* to have resisted and opposed this wicked defection to the last drop of their blood; so the sinful compliance of many, and woful faint-
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ing and withdrawing of others, might indeed incapacitate such as remain faithful from the *best*, but neither could nor can disengage them from their *utmost* endeavours.

From these grounds and what hath been formerly represented, the argument of the indictment of treason above-mentioned, *viz. That all convocations and risings in arms, or subjects entering into leagues, without or against the king's authority, are treasonable: But such was the late rising and renewing of the Covenant, Therefore, &c.* May be easily and clearly answered, that all such risings and entering into leagues, as are not warranted and commanded by the superior law and authority of God (*Who is King of kings and Lord of lords*) which by our own express acts and statutes are acknowledged, and are not founded upon the fundamental right, and necessarily intended for the preservation of religion and righteousness, the great and principal end of all laws and governments, according whereunto our laws have also by posterior statutes been expressly interpreted, are indeed treasonable: But such the late rising was not; but on the contrary was more clearly approved by these grounds, than any other the like instance, which can be adduced or instructed, from the parallel of any other age or nation; therefore it was altogether lawful, righteous and necessary. Which answer, though the Lord's faithful witnesses did sufficiently insinuate and propound, yet both the constitution of the court, and persons of the judges before whom they were arraigned, were such, as the same was rather accounted an aggravation of their crime and treason.

But seeing this was not done, without the specious pretexts, not only of iniquitous laws, but also of religion and scripture.

First, We shall briefly consider, that query often made to them, *Where they had read, or how they could instruct, that, under the pretence of religion, it is lawful for subjects to rise in rebellion against lawful authority?*

To which it is answered,

1. That this query is a clear begging of the question, by expressly supposing that the late rising was only *in pretence* of religion, but *really* in rebellion, which ought first to have been proved, and is in effect an arrant calumny and falshood.

2. That even the query itself seems to imply and grant, that for subjects to rise in arms really for the defence of religion, against the invasions of the powers, under the pretence of lawful authority, is both lawful and laudable: Which being the true case and cause of this late rising, and so clearly warranted, both by the word and covenant of God, and the practice of all reformed churches; we are content to refer these poor mens innocency, unto the consciences and secret thoughts of their adversaries.

Secondly, We shall consider these texts of scripture which were pretended against the innocents. And,

1. It was much urged, that *rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft*. To which one of themselves did roundly and clearly answer, 1. That the place having been spoken by the Prophet to a king, because of his disobedience and contempt of the command of God, and not to subjects, would sooner conclude his accusers than himself to be a rebel. 2. It was answered, That rising up against *authority* itself, the ordinance of God, and disobeying the powers therewith vested, standing and acting in their *right line of subordination*, is indeed rebellion, and as the *sin of witchcraft*; but to re-

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lift and rise up against persons *abusing* sacred authority, and *rebell*ing against God the supreme, is rather to adhere to God as our Leige-lord, and to vindicate both ourselves and his abused ordinances, from man's wickedness and tyranny.

2. The second text objected was that, *Mat.* xxvi. 52. where even our Lord himself, when violently seized upon by wicked men, but who were then in authority, did nevertheless restrain his disciples from his own defence and rescue, saying unto *Peter*, *Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword:* To which, as it was sufficiently answered, without any reply, by one of these impeached (whom they accounted distracted, though without the least appearance of impertinency) who thereto did oppose *Luke* xxii. 36. Where our Lord, speaking at the same time, and to the same purpose, saith, *He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one:* Yet for further clearing, we say, 1. That from the place itself in all the *Evangelists*, it is most evident, that that command was given, and these words spoken by our Lord, only for to testify his voluntary submission unto the Father's will, by laying down of his life for fulfilling of the scripture, as is clear from the same xxvi. of *Matth.* ver. 54. and *John* xviii. 11. otherwise the context being considered (that not only in *Luke* xxii. 36. cited, he, forewarning his disciples of hazards to come, adviseth them to provide swords and weapons; and in *Matth.* xxvi. asserts his power to have called twelve legions of angels to his assistance, which clearly implies the lawfulness thereof) this scripture objected doth more confirm than impugn the lawfulness of *defensive arms*. 2. Is it possible that men should be so much demented by flattery, as to think that it was unlawful for Jesus Christ the mighty

mighty God and Lord over all, to have defended himself by the assistance of his disciples, against the horrid wickedness and insurrection of the vilest of his creatures, had it not been, that it was necessary, that the scriptures concerning him should be accomplished? 3. Where our Lord saith in the place objected, *All they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword*, as he thereby only condemneth unjust and offensive war; so the saying itself, by its latter part, doth tacitely imply the lawfulness and justice of both *defensive* and *vindictive* arms, the same being otherwise justly founded.

Though these texts were only objected, yet to help our adversaries, who are known not to be much conversant in scripture, and to obviate the scruples that may thence arise to others, we subjoin a third text, *John xviii. 36.* where our Lord saith, *If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews*; whence some infer, That all arms, even in defence of religion, are unlawful and prohibited: But it is answered, as the intent and scope of our Lord's answer was, to clear himself of that calumny objected against him by the *Jews*, that he made himself a king in opposition to *Cæsar*; so the meaning of it is plain and obvious, to wit, that our Lord's kingdom is not of the nature and for the ends, for which other kingdoms of this world were instituted; but wholly spiritual for declaring the truth, and thereby gaining souls unto glory: Whence as our Lord would there infer that he came not to conquer to himself disciples by outward force, and thereby to gain followers by the spoiling of *Cæsar* and other princes; so it is without all shadow of connection thence to conclude, that a people having received the blessing of the gospel and kingdom of Jesus Christ, should without resistance

ance suffer themselves (to the manifest dishonour of God, and the hazard of the eternal damnation of themselves and their posterity) to be impiously and sacrilegiously spoiled and deprived thereof, when they are in a capacity to defend the same. The truth whereof, together with the hypocrisy of our adversaries, may soon be discovered, if the question be but stated in the terms of one foreign and independant prince's invading another, merely upon the account of the Christian faith; and whatever solution or evasion they shall herein make, will as exactly quadrate to the case in hand, it being almost ridiculous to conceive, that the greatest aggravation of invasions of this kind, to wit, that it is made by a prince upon his own subjects, (whose profession he himself is principally bound to maintain) should import any speciality and difference in the cases.

3. The last text is that of *Matth. v. 39.* and the remanent verses to the end, where our Lord saith, *Resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee, &c.* with the other parallel places, specially *Rev. xiii. 10.* But it is answered, that as these places do enjoin either patience, when the clear call and dispensations of God do inevitably call unto suffering, without which, patience were not patience, but rather stupidity; or that bounty and debonairity which our Lord will have his disciples to practise, in the remitting and dispensing with the outmost extensions and points of right, for the better reproving and condemning of the animosities and rigid contentions of men, for matters of small or no moment, and the more effectual commending the grace and peace of the gospel; so thence to infer, that men should give way to all violence and sacrilege (to the subverting of religion and righteousness) is, after the manner of Satan, to cheat and abuse men
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by the holy scriptures of truth unto wickedness and error: and grossly to exceed that signal rule, mainly in these places intended, to wit, that we should *be perfect even as our Father, which is in heaven, is perfect*; who, though he filleth the earth with his goodness, and extendeth his bounty unto all, causing the sun to rise upon the evil and on the good, yet doth he love righteousness, and helpeth and delivereth the oppressed, and commandeth the zeal of his own glory (wherein he himself doth often eminently appear) by the hand of his people, to take vengeance on his adversaries. Let us therefore in the consideration of what is said, *Rev. xiii. 10. He that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity; he that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword*, both possess our souls in patience under all the former sufferings, and hope and rejoice in the faith of the succeeding delivery there subjoined.

These are the defences which these faithful men did summarily hint at, and being often interrupted, were scarcely permitted to propone; all which being rejected, as unworthy to be heard, what wonder if what their *advocates* did plead in their defence, upon the point of *quarter* given to some of them in the field, was also repelled? We are not to dip in matters of this kind; but certainly it much discovereth the spirit of malice and violence that now prevaieth, that neither the nature and import of *quarter*, which pertaineth nothing to grace or pardon (whereof these men were declared incapable) but is a *paction of the law of nations, whereby the person worsted, by quitting of his arms*, (the only and oftentimes the probable means either of his safety or vengeance) *doth condition for, and redeem his immunity as to life*; nor yet the honour of the granters, persons *commissionated* by the king for the com-

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mand of his forces, with the common privileges and dignities belonging to such offices; nor yet the practice of all nations about, even in the case of *intestine* war: nor the rational arguments of humanity and prudence, not to reduce men to utter despair in succeeding insurrections (from which no kingdom is privileged) nor lastly, the paucity of these few innocents, not exceeding five or six who could have been thereby benefited (there being many other taken and not upon quarter) could prevail against that pedantick distinction *inter bellum justum & injustum*. But this being alledged to have been *bellum injustum*, (as indeed it was in the justest sense) therefore no faith nor quarter must be herein observed, *quia, sc. adversus hostes tantum est bellum, at in perduelles, judicium*, as if from this, one should conclude, that though in *war* there may be faith and quarter, yet in *judgment* there ought neither to be truth nor performance.

All defences therefore being repelled, these persons accused were all condemned to be hanged to death as traitors, and their heads and right hands to be cut off, to be disposed on by the *council*, and their goods and estates to be forfeited to the king's use. And accordingly upon several days, this sentence was executed upon thirty five of these faithful men, and by ordinance of *council*, the heads of many of them were affixed upon the ports of several burghs; and the right hands of the first ten (to the high contempt of God and his holy Covenant, and to the provocation of his jealousy) on the *tolbooth* of *Lanerk*, where the Covenant was by them solemnly renewed and sworn; as for the other five, they were and are reprimed, one of them, who in all his tryal, to the conviction of all, appeared most constant in the Covenant, and bold and pertinent in his testimony, upon the colour of a
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fit of distraction (by which he was once vexed) and through the intercession of many in his behalf; another of them, for his vile and abject fainting, to the very reproach of humanity, redeeming his life by becoming *hangman* to seven of his fellows, when two ordinary executioners in the burghs about had plainly refused, declaring that they would have nothing to do with the blood of such righteous men, and one of them therefore imprisoned; the other three, partly because of their fainting and condescendence, take the *Declaration*, and partly through the favour and intercession of friends.

We shall not, nor cannot enter upon the particular declaration of that grace, constancy and courage, by which the Lord's faithful witnesses were sustained and did bear testimony to the word of his truth, the holy covenant, and the cause and work of God. Only this is certain, that the Lord did not more desert that vile abject person to the weakness of flesh and blood, whereby he was depressed below the very contempt of men, than by his grace and glory, evidently to manifest the power thereof, he was eminently present with such as he honoured to be his witnesses, to cause them condemn and triumph over principalities and powers, hell and death, and all their terrors; as may be evident from these things following.

1. That the *council*, pitching upon those men without choice, for a test of discrimination did require several of them, by taking the *Declaration*, to renounce the Covenant; which they constantly refused: And so were martyred, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection.

2. That Mr. *Hew M'Kail*, a young man of 25 years of age, and an expectant in the ministry, being arraigned and accused through mere spite of the *arch-bishop* of *St. Andrews*, (against whose Ju-

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das-like apostacy he had preached four years ago) for no greater accession, than that he had been some few days with these that rose, with a sword (having been most uncircumspectly taken, leaving them because of his infirmity and weakness the day before the conflict) did not only most patiently endure cruel torture whereby he was examined, for the discovery of the contrivance of that rising, which all men knew and saw to be indeliberate; but notwithstanding the promise of favour plainly made to him upon condition of ingenuity (which he sincerely used) being also condemned, did utterly reject all insinuations made unto him upon condition of the least retraction; and bitterly mourning for, and repenting of his apparent fainting and relinquishing, though it really proceeded more from his infirmity, than fear or love of life, but rejoicing in his own folly, whereby the Lord did bring him to such a manifestation of his grace, and declaration of his glory, he, to the admiration of all, in his most constant and Christian suffering, by his blood sealed the truth, and glorified God.

3. That others of them, though obscure and illiterate men, upon the scaffold hurried and interrupted in the declaring of their testimony, by the Prelates orders, and the rudeness and inhumanity of these that executed them; yet did bear witness to the cause of God, and of that grace, and assurance, whereby the Lord upheld them, to the admiration and astonishment of all the beholders.

5. That though at *Glasgow* and *Ayr*, where eleven of them were executed, all mean countrymen, and some of them of decrepit age, and others of them very young, not exceeding eighteen years, their enemies caused beat drums about the scaffold that they might not be heard, (a barbarity never practised in *Scotland*, and rarely heard of, except
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in the duke of *Alva's* martyring of the Protestants in the *Low-countries*) yet were they so little thereby amazed, that both by words of praise and thanksgiving to God, that had honoured such *plough-men*, as they termed themselves, to be his witnesses, and the constancy of their countenance and whole carriage, they did bear such testimony to the holy covenant, as both many were thereby confirmed, and their enemies ashamed.

2. That though some of them did appear weak and faint hearted at first, yet so powerfully and abundantly was it given to them *in that hour*, that out of weakness they were made strong; and declared that they had seen such glimpses of the glory of God betwixt the prison and the scaffold, that all fear was clearly discussed; and particularly a young country boy, not much above sixteen years of age, being condemned at *Ayr*, mostly because he did refuse to take the *Declaration*, which they told him, was the renouncing of that covenant he had taken at *Lanerk*; and though, both through fear and ignorance of the very grounds of Christianity, he fell into great anxiety, neither daring to die, nor yet to redeem his life at the rate proposed; yet after the prayers and conference of some that had access to him at *Irvine*, two days before his death, on the morning that he suffered, he appeared so much changed, both from the depth of fear and perplexity unto great resolution and joy, and so much enlightened with the knowledge of God in our Lord Jesus Christ, and hope of salvation thro' his name, that all that saw him, do bear testimony to the grace and wonderful work of God, and of that joy of heart, that carried him to the scaffold, leaping and praising God.

From all which particulars, and from the several testimonies and speeches which these left behind

hind them in writing, we must conclude and rejoice, that God out of the dark cloud of such a sad and astonishing providence, which lately overspread us, hath brought so blessed and bright a cloud of witnesses, strengthened and filled with so much grace and glory, to bear testimony unto his name, covenant and cause, and for the confirmation of all that love and wait for his salvation.

We have hitherto omitted to say any thing to that *oath of conjuration* taken by the *militia of Edinburgh*, and the concurrence and assistance of many others, who did either actually rise in arms for the suppressing of God's people and cause; or since the conflict, did stop, apprehend, and spoil them in the cross way, and have been assisting and abetting to their deaths and persecutions, either as *guarders* of prisons, courts or scaffolds, or as *judges, clerks, advocates, assizers, or officers* in the dooms pronounced against them. If, after all the truth, equity and reason that have been represented, and the power and glory which God hath declared, men will not hear and fear, nor be converted, neither the tongues of men and angels, nor of such as should return from the dead, would be of any force or persuation to prevail with them. Is it possible, that *Edinburgh* should think, that the pretence of a new invented oath of *allegiance* and *fidelity* to the king, and for the defence of his authority against all insurrections and rebellions, wherein the *Prelates*, and the uphold of their wickedness, and the subjecting of all the godly to their lust and tyranny, were and are clearly intended and designed, shall warrant them in the great day of the Lord (who is terrible unto the kings of the earth) for taking part with rebels and apostates against the God of heaven, and for opposing and oppressing of such, as, continuing stedfast in the common cause and covenant,

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(for which *Edinburgh* was once very honourable and eminent) did only endeavour to liberate themselves from that intolerable bondage both of bodies and consciences, more grievous than death, under which they groined? Doth *Edinburgh* thus not only condemn the practice of our noble ancestors and reformers, who accounted it neither insurrection nor rebellion to set themselves for the defence of the gospel, against the then powers, who did endeavour to oppress it; but by this oath, abandon both religion and liberty, in this so perillous and backsliding a generation, to the lust and tyranny of abused authority, and whatsoever it shall please to impose, without control or contradiction! Do they thus remember the *National Covenant*, and the *Solemn League and Covenant*, once so powerfully sworn and owned amongst them, and the *mutual defence and assistance*, wherein every one of us is thereby bound to another, to the uttermost of our power against all sorts of persons whatsoever, and not to suffer ourselves, by whatsoever combination, terror or persuasion, to be divided and withdrawn from that blessed union therein contained? While, on the contrary, they conspire and conjure themselves against such whom they are not only bound to assist, but also to relieve of all the persecutions and oppressions which they suffer and sustain, only for their adherence to the same holy covenants. Surely these things being duly considered, this oath, instead of qualifying the *Declaration* (in lieu whereof, being more general, plausible and insnaring, it was contrived and imposed) will be found a practical approbation of all the wickedness and unrighteousness, which is therein only speculatively declared; and may, in the righteous judgment of God, by reason not only of the equality, but even of the excess hereof to *London's* sin, bring upon *Edinburgh*

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London's plagues and judgments. We need not here insist to testify against the rest, who in any sort concurred or assisted in the opposition and persecution above-mentioned, the meanest part of whose accession, doth far exceed *Paul's* keeping the clothes of such who stoned *Stephen*. If we consider that the suffering and not opposing, to the utmost of our power, the shedding of innocent blood, doth involve all under that certain denunciation made by *Jeremiah* unto the princes of *Judah*, and all the people, *Jer. xxvi. 15.* saying, *Know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof:* The most innocent amongst us, will find himself more concerned to repent of his own, than censure others for their accession. The serious thoughts whereof, may and ought justly to cause us tremble, lest our *Manasseh*-like sin, in shedding of innocent blood, *provoke the Lord to wrath* in such a measure, *as he will not pardon.*

But when we do reflect upon the rage, cruelty and barbarity that have ensued, the things that we have mentioned, may justly appear to be but the beginning of evils. For, 1. Immediately after the conflict, the arch-bishop procureth a proclamation to be emitted, *prohibiting the reset and concealment of, or correspondence with any of these* poor men that had escaped, or had been accessory unto the late rising, and ordaining all to pursue them as the worst of traitors, *under the pain of being accounted guilty of the same rebellion.* In which proclamation, after the archbishop had impudently and absurdly laboured, that several persons, against whom, not so much as any delation or ground of suspicion could be alledged, should, contrary to all reason, be insert; he at length prevailed that about fifty-seven gentlemen, ministers and others, alledged

more eminently guilty, should be therein by name expressed. Certainly, if it be considered, that neither reason nor prudence do advise to seek security only in revenge, but rather by an attemperation of clemency, in cases of this nature, to bring things to a composition, we must conclude, such courses are only the product of blind prelatic fury. 2. After the first executions at *Edinburgh*, the *commissioner* and *lieutenant general* march unto the *West*, and there having condemned and executed several persons, as we have before mentioned, the *lieutenant general* staying behind, taketh up his quarters at *Kilmarnock*; and there, and from thence doth practise and issue forth such orders of cruelty, as the barbarity thereof may very probably render the narration suspected.

For, 1. The country is burthened with such localities of corn and straw for troop horses, (more than double the number that was amongst them) that to redeem themselves from the drudgery, they not only are content to quite the prices which the troopers ought to pay, but also to pay in to them such sums of money, as, upon computation, will equalize the valued rent of the shire.

2. Notwithstanding of all the excise, fines and taxations imposed and levied for the maintenance of these forces; yet, upon pretence of want of money and pay, the soldiers are shortly thereafter permitted to take free quarter; and consequently are licensed to all the abuses, that either rapine or cruelty may suggest.

3. *Dalziel*, at and by his own hand, hath privately in his own chamber and quarters, not only by words menaced such, as after public examination upon the account of intelligence, had been acquitted; but also really (by fire and sword, threatening to kill out-right, or roast and burn alive, such who

who being groundlesly questioned, had, upon the first examination, declared all they knew) examined men by tortures.

4. Such persons as he happeneth to apprehend, whether upon the suspicion of their having been with these that rose in arms, or having reset such after the conflict, are thereupon ordinarily stript naked to their shirts and breeches, and thrust into prisons, in cold, hunger, nakedness, and sometimes in extreme straitness; as in *Kilmarnock*, into dark and obscure little holes, which being destined for one man or two, and not capacious of more (though standing upright) than ten or twelve, they are so pinched, that not one of them can possibly so much as relieve himself of the continual pain of standing, by suffering his body to sink unto the ground; and unto all the former miseries have that of their own dung and excrements superadded; so that the poor men would often chuse death rather than life. Amongst which cruelties and rigors, that practised upon a petty *heritor* in or about the parish of *Ochiltry*, deserveth to be remembred: who, being apprehended upon a groundless suspicion of reset of traitors, as they term them, was brought to *Kilmarnock* tolbooth; where, being an old man full of obstructions, he was so suffocated with the smoke there, occasioned by a coal-fire, wanting a chimney-vent, that often-times a day the soldiers have in derision carried him out as dead, and after a little recovery by reason of the free air, with cruel scorn, ignominiously returned him unto his prison. Which barbarity they still continued, until by extremity of such usage, he is reduced to such weakness, as there is little hope of life.

5. There is one act, so far beyond, and without all shew and pretence of humanity and justice, as scarce any preface or testimony is sufficient to per-

suade to the belief of it; which is thus, *Dalziel* having ordered a party to *Newmills*, to seize and apprehend one *Finlaw*, living peaceably in his own house, and they, about the time of *Dalziel's* return from *Ayr*, returning, and bringing with them the prisoner, he instantly calleth him to his chamber, and examineth him privately (without so much as one witness present) whether or not he was with the *rebels* at *Lanerk*; the man in answer declareth, That he was there when they came to the place, but upon the account of his own private affairs. The *general* asketh in the next place, whom he knew to have been there amongst them, and because the man (by declaring his ignorance) appeared unwilling to discover any, he instantly calleth the *lieutenant* of the guard, and giveth orders to carry the poor man to the gallows, and there to shoot him dead. The man being thus hurried away, when he is brought to the place of execution, questioneth the *lieutenant*, if the *general* was serious in what he had ordered: whereunto the *lieutenant* replieth, that he knew nothing to the contrary; the poor man declaring his innocency, obtesteth him, both upon the grounds of humanity and Christianity, that he would at least obtain him a reprieve for that night, that he might prepare for death and eternity; and with some importunity prevailleth to move him to return to *Dalziel* for a grant of the licence desired: but the *lieutenant general*, in place of relenting, doth most severely threaten the *lieutenant* himself, telling him that he would teach him to obey his orders precisely, without pleading for mitigation; whereupon the *lieutenant* returning to the place, immediately ordereth the poor man to be shot, who was instantly stript naked, and left dead upon the ground. A fact so barbarous and cruel, and in effect so plain a murder, being

being destitute of the least shadow of either ordinary or martial law to colour it, that the horror thereof may justly render it incredible.

6. As this last act is such as barbarity itself would condemn, so it is well known that this man *Dalziel* was therefore brought from *Moscow*, where it was supposed he had learned to comply with that arbitrary tyranny, and to exercise that barbarous cruelty, which there, more than in any part of the Christian world, is wickedly practised, as the only proper executioner, agreeably and accurately to serve the rigor and violence of this accursed Prelacy. Which expectation he hath not at all frustrated: For both he and the *arch-prelate* of *St. Andrews*, are so wickedly acted by the same spirit of spite, rage and wickedness, that they have often grieved and openly complained, that such whom they have supposed, and would have instantly and utterly destroyed as criminals (according to the excess of their own lust and malice, without respect to any measure or proportion of justice) should either be proceeded against, or punished according to the tenor of law; accounting and impudently declaring, that these *formalities* (as they are pleased to term the very substantials of law, and the great security of all mens lives and fortunes) were, and are in their opinions mostly obstructive to the king's service. It were endless to enumerate all the evils, extortions, cruelties, and exactions, that this *Muscovia-beast* hath acted and doth practise upon that poor country of the *West*, where retaining some of his forces, both horse and foot, the most slender suspicions, or the smallest surmises, though never so false, are accounted crimes and convictions; and immediately punished with such rigorous imprisonment as we have already described; or by oppressive quartering, not only on the

person suspected, but also on the whole bounds about: In which quartering, the soldiers do behave themselves with such insolence and rapine, that not only many hundreds of families are reduced to beggary, but in several parishes, the country almost laid waste and desolate; so that now it is the common report and persuasion of all, that the *West* is appointed for ruin and destruction.

7. Seeing this is the case of almost that whole country, without respect to guilt or innocency, how hard and lamentable is the condition of such who were in the late rising, and have hitherto escaped? It is impossible fully to represent all their sore distress and great perplexity which they sustain, wandering and hiding themselves in woods, mountains and caves of the earth, afflicted with all the pain and misery, that the extremity of cold, nakedness and hunger, with the continual uncertainty of their lives, can lay upon them, and hunted more than partridges, by the vigilant and cruel malice of their adversaries. We know that some of our profane apostate preachers (who not only think the fiery trial a strange thing, and are offended at the cross of *Christ*, but preferring this world's ease to their everlasting rest, do neither hearken to the warning, nor believe the promised and experienced consolation of suffering) have wickedly judged these poor men and their cause by the event, and affirmed that curse, *Isa. viii. 21.* to be on them accomplished: but as both the sin of sorcery, and the sting of this threatening, imbittered fretting to the cursing of God, the very worm of the damned here recorded, do clearly discover and confute this calumny; so are these apostate calumniators plainly and directly therein concerned; who, having such evident tokens of perdition, as are their vile apostacy and cruel persecution and reproach, may and ought

ought to tremble in the pre-apprehensions thereof, which, without serious repentance, they cannot escape, when the righteous God who upholdeth his own with strength and joy in tribulation, *shall hereafter give unto all them, though now troubled, rest with all saints.*

But not only time, but heart and tongue would fail any Christian, to relate all the violences, plunderings, extortions and insolencies, that from the beginning of this apostacy, until this day, have been and are committed by military force amongst us; first upon *Galloway*, then upon both *Galloway* and *Nithsdale*, and now upon the whole *West*: Which as they have been extended in bounds, so are they continually intended in cruelty. Only this shall we say, if stabbing, wounding, beating, stripping and imprisoning mens persons, violent breaking of their houses both by day and night, and beating and wounding of wives and children, ravishing and deflowring of women, forcing wives and other persons by fired matches and other tortures to discover their husbands, and nearest relations, although it be not within the compass of their knowledge; and driving and spoiling all their goods that can be carried away, without respect to guilt or innocency, in as cruel a manner as ever *Scotland* saw exerced amongst them by a foreign enemy (as can be instanced from every corner of that country) may represent our present slavery and bondage; certainly the same is much the more miserable and insupportable, in that all this wickedness is most unnaturally perpetrated, both by our own country-men and sworn brethren, and so much the rather to be laid to heart by all, that, as all these things are only acted and allowed by the wicked malice and blind fury of this prevailing prelatick party, and for satisfying their insatiable
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hatred and revenge against all their opposers, so is the whole kingdom thereby disabled, and most obviously in these most dangerous times, exposed to the invasion of any foreigner; as may be very evident from these considerations. 1. The *West*, the strength and better part of the kingdom, is already disabled, not only by the above-mentioned oppressions, but by the general disarming, and taking of the serviceable horses, and likely very shortly to be totally wasted and ruined. 2. The *North* and *Highlands* have been of late so much neglected and connived at, through the prevailing wickedness of the times, that they are wholly in disorder, and all places about invested by most insolent rapines and murders: But since the actors are void both of religion and conscience, they cannot now be guilty of either rebellion or sedition, and since they are rather favourers of, than enemies to *Prelates*, it is no matter how great enemies they be to righteousness. 3. The whole kingdom is so exhausted by exactions and impositions, so vexed by general oppression and disorder, from which the wickedness of prelatick rulers, suffer no place to be exempted; and so disgusted with the violence and inhumanity they see done to their brethren, (their own flesh) for such slight and unworthy causes and occasions, as the worst of men, not interested, do justly apprehend Prelacy and conformity to be; that all are either disabled, disheartned, or disobliged from the service of king and country. 4. There remaineth no strength nor force amongst us, but these two regiments of foot, and nine troops of horses, which even with the addition of the five more intended, will not in all exceed two thousand foot, and one thousand horse; and yet are they all and more than the country can well bear, and these so debauched by licentiousness, cruelty

cruelty and rapine, that neither can their hearts endure, nor their hands be strong against an enemy. These are the fruits of our departing from the Lord, and again erecting and admitting this accursed Prelacy. O! that God would cause us to know how evil and bitter they are; but the *Prelates*, who fear not God, regard not the commonwealth, let the covenant and conscience be rooted out, then come on us what will: these are the only enemies of their usurpations and wicked lusts, and therefore must be accounted so both to king and country; against these are our forces levied, and maintained, and unto this design their numbers must be modelled, and our exactions proportioned: arraying of the country, and establishing of the *militia*, conform to our ancient laws and liberties, may possibly arm the Prelates enemies; surely that course would not so violently press conformity, and execute their cruelty, nor so largely gratify a few nobles, who by the command of the troops must be made sharers of the spoil and booty, and so engaged for these vile Prelates against the poor country. O blinded nobles! are not the wealth and peace of the country your riches and stability? O abject *Scotland*! how art thou abandoned?

This being the design, rage and jealousy of the tyrannizing Prelates, in order thereunto there must
1. Be five troops more added to these already levied, and the country more oppressed for the securing and establishing of their wickedness. 2. They are endeavouring by all means to have the *Declaration* against the covenant generally pressed, that either by violent straining they may destroy all conscience thereof, or may more fully discover, and more effectually reach all the faithful in the land, whom by the test of a refusal they purpose to stage and
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severely punish as enemies to authority. We shall not offer here to add any thing against this *Declaration*. If all that the Lord hath done in this land, now by the space of near an hundred years, all that his servants have formerly declared and testified, and now of late have witnessed and sealed with their blood, and all the tenor and purpose of this discourse avail not to justify our holy Covenants, and condemn this horrid apostacy and wicked *Declaration*, nothing certainly will be able to persuade, and the mighty power of God can only convert. Only we have reason to fear that the same spirit of deceit, which, under the colour of due obedience to lawful authority, ensnared wretched *Edinburgh* to a combination and conspiracy against the Lord and his anointed, may renew the same practice upon the whole land, for the more easy involving of such into this apostacy, whom possibly the gross and palpable wickedness of the *Declaration* might deter: And to such we give this warning, That as all powers are subordinate to the Most High, and appointed and limited by his holy will and commandment, for his own glory and the peoples good; and as our allegiance was, and standeth perpetually and expressly thus qualified, *viz. in defence of religion and liberty*, according to our first and second Covenants. And lastly, Seeing all allegiance and obedience to any created power whatsoever, (though in the construction of charity apparently indefinite, yet) of its own nature is indispensibly thus restricted; to renew the same, or take any the like oath of allegiance, purely and simply, purposely omitting the former and due restriction, especially where the powers are in most manifest and horrid rebellion against the Lord, and opposition to his cause and covenant, is in effect equivalent to an express rejecting and disowning of the

the same limitation, and of the sovereign prerogative of the great God and King over all, which is thereby reserved; and as much as in plain terms to affirm, *That whatever abused authority shall command or do, either as to the overturning of the work of God, subverting of religion, destroying of rights and liberties; or persecuting of all the faithful to the utmost extremity, we shall not only stupidly endure it, but actively concur with and assist in all this tyranny.* And if this be not more, yea double wickedness above all that the *Declaration* doth import, let all men consider. O! all ye who desire to behold the good that the Lord will do for his people, beware of this high rebellion against him.

3. As all restraints of either conscience or law are now wickedly taken off, and only a convenient opportunity waited for, to re-introduce that dead carcase of formality, the *Service-book*, and the whole bulk of these corrupt ceremonies and pernicious superstitions, that have been formerly, and always found so destructive to the light and power of the gospel, and are so vain and ridiculous in themselves, that nothing but the very spirit of darkness and judicial delusion from the Lord, can induce men to such fopperies; so may we certainly expect the re-imposing of this heavy yoke, and all sin, superstition, persecution, and wrath, which necessarily do attend it, except we abide steadfast in the Lord's cause and covenant, instantly intreating and patiently waiting for his salvation, and glorious appearance again in this land.

Thus we have represented in part both the sin, sufferings, and distresses, that ly upon the whole land; which though they be most heavy and grievous in themselves, yet are they in their tendency and presage more to be regarded. Can any man seriously look upon the hatred and scorn of that light
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and truth, wherein once we gloried, the spite against the holy covenant, and all conscience, the blasphemy and sin against God, and the violence and persecution against all such as fear his name, whereby the enemy rageth, and their tumult continually increaseth, and not be astonished? Is there any who believeth that God is, and that his words are truth, and all his ways judgment, his threatnings sure and certain, his jealousy as a consuming fire, his wrath so dreadful, and his indignation so terrible, that only the same omnipotency which inflicteth the strokes, can sustain poor passive wretches from evanishing at its smallest rebukes, and yet shall sustain them eternally, and not tremble, because of the provocation of all these abominations? O! that such whom the love of Christ hath not constrained, nor the tears and weeping of a departing Saviour moved, might be yet persuaded by the terror of the Lord, and that the dread of God might make their hearts soft. Surely abounding sin is the greatest woe, and prevailing transgression the greatest cause of mourning; but above all sins and transgressions, Christ despised in his gospel and ordinances, and persecuted in his members, is the most mournful and fearful; which as it scattered and destroyed the Lord's peculiar people and nation, dear to him above all nations, and hath overturned and ruined the fairest part of the Christian world, either in barbarity or gross darkness; so is it the great condemnation of the whole world. This is the work and wickedness of accursed Prelacy, most perjurious in its rise, and ever antichristian in its designs and effects, as all who have hearts to understand what we have here declared, and eyes to see the present state and condition of matters, must and will acknowledge. This is thy sin, O *Scotland*, and, if mercy prevent it not, shall be thy ruin. This is the voice, testimony and warning

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of all the sufferings of the Lord's people; who tho' continually afflicted and persecuted in their bodies, and though their souls be exceedingly filled with the contempt of the proud; yet have not, nor dare not deny the Lord, his work, nor his holy covenant: whom though the Lord hath caused to turn back from the enemy, and given for a spoil to them that hate them; yea given them as sheep for meat, and made them a reproach, a scorn and a derision; yet have they not forgotten the Lord, nor dealt falsely in his covenant. O! that men would consider this grace of God, whereby, as he comforteth and sustaineth his servants in all their afflictions; so he warneth backsliders to return, and all to flee from the wrath that is to come, and to save themselves from this wicked generation: Which grace, as it allayeth to the faithful the smart, so ought it to remove from all the scandal of our Lord's cross, and is indeed that strength and presence of the captain of our salvation (who was made perfect by suffering) with all his sufferers, giving, for the present, joy and peace, and afterwards, assured victory.

Now, seeing it is the Lord who hath so visibly brought upon us these fore trials, that such as are approved, may be made manifest, and so graciously delivereth them from the temptation thereof, yea thereby refineth, purifieth, and maketh many white, that they may be more abundant partakers both of his holiness and of his glory, and also eminently bear witness to the truth, grace and power of his great work, his holy covenant, and precious ordinances and ministry amongst us, clearing them by his own testimony of all these calumnies, wherewith, either through the invention of some mens malice, or the occasion of other mens weakness and sin they were formerly aspersed, we shall shut up this discourse with this word of exhortation.

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Great hath been the sin of this land in not believing and obeying the glorious gospel, in not receiving the Lord Jesus in our hearts, and witnessing his light and grace and glory in our lives and conversations, but in resting on the outward forms and appearances of the true doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, without labouring after the power of reformation, and beauty of holiness (the only grace and blessing of all these enjoyments) and in perverting and managing the possession and profession of all these things unto selfish ends and worldly advantages. O foolish people and unwise! have we thus requited the Lord for all these mercies of his gospel, pure ordinances and holy Covenants, to corrupt and deprive them from that great end of the glory of his grace and mercy in our salvation, unto the base designs of serving and satisfying our own lusts to his dishonour? And therefore is it that the Lord, having often in his mercy corrected and warned us, hath now at length given us over to this horrid apostacy and defection, whereby, as the latent malice and hypocrisy of many, and the great fainting and want of zeal in all, have been manifestly discovered; so the Lord is feeding the wicked with their own delusion, and putting the zeal and constancy of all to the test, and in effect ripening this whole land, either for a glorious deliverance from that perverse spirit and generation of *Antichrist*, that hath been long mingled in the midst of us, and even from the days of our first reformation, hath retained and continued the old enmity, against the Lord Jesus and his blessed gospel and kingdom; or else for a total and final overthrow in utter darkness and desolation. And therefore, O *Scotland*, because the Lord loved thy fathers, and delighteth not in thy destruction, hath he, after all our fearful backsliding and sin-
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ful fainting and departing, which testify against us, neither left himself nor us without a witness; but raised up amongst us his own faithful servants, and our brethren, with whom we are all equally and indissolubly engaged in the same righteous cause and covenant, and by the mighty power of his grace, from the pure zeal of his glory, enabled them first to venture, and then to lay down their lives for the testimony of his work and covenant, that we may yet at length consider and understand, that these were no more the labour and devices of carnal designs, than that corruption and weakness of flesh and blood could triumph both over itself, and death and hell the chief of terrors. O! that men would therefore lay to heart their bonds and engagements unto the Lord, repent of their backslidings, and cease from their opposition to his cause and covenant; at least that such whom the Lord hath not abandoned unto that depth of apostacy, whereunto others have made defection, would yet be wise and instructed, repent of their fainting and neutrality in the cause of God, and their connivance or compliance with the declared enemies thereof, and beware of that wicked *Declaration* against the Covenant, or any other oath and subscription likely to be the snare and temptation of these times, which either under the pretext of peace and order, or of due obedience unto lawful authority, may be wickedly invented and imposed, really for the suppressing of truth, and advancing of this rebellion against the most high God, and the establishing of this antichristian and prelatick *tyranny*. We have already fully detected the mask and design of such impostures; he who hath given authority and power unto kings and princes, and rendred the same sacred by his holy sanction and command, as he hath often punished their ingratitude and usurpa-

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tion against his own sovereignty; so will he not hold that people guiltless, who, being both his creatures and sworn subjects, either connive at, or comply with such rebellious princes in their wickedness. Shall both the law of God, and the very propension of the heart and blood to the love and obedience of parents, cede to the obedience of kings and rulers, for the good and preservation of the commonwealth; and shall not far more all allegiance and obedience to the same kings and rulers, cede and give place to our obedience to the most High, our only sovereign Lord, and the conscience of his holy oath and commandments, for advancement of his glory, the great and only end of all things? Fix it therefore in your hearts, first to love and fear the Lord our God, and then to honour and obey the king; and let the sincere and inward love of our Lord Jesus Christ, the dear esteem of his precious gospel, and the remembrance of our most sacred and solemn oaths and covenants, and of that beauty, power and glory of his pure ordinances, ministry and government which we once enjoyed, always dwell in your hearts, and ever determine and establish you to resist and disown all wicked usurpations against *the Lord and his Anointed*; all invasions against his crown and prerogative, all corruptions and human inventions in his pure worship and ordinances, all perversion of the true government and comely order in his house, and all violations of these indispensable and holy engagements, whereby this whole nation is perpetually joined unto the Lord; and also ever animate you to do or suffer for the Lord's great name, and these precious and important concerns, as he requireth; lest if ye either faint in your minds, or give up yourselves to the delusion of some carnal distinction, quitting the sounder for the safer part, against
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the explicate testimony, or implicate inclination of your own consciences (which latter, if sincerely aiming at the glory of God, and in nothing repugnant to his holy word, is no otherwise to be regarded in times of temptation, than as that promised secret *leading of the blind in the way which they know not*) you not only lose your crown, but provoke the Lord to cause all the churches know by your plagues, that he it is *who searcheth the reins and hearts*.

But unto these few names in Scotland that have appeared zealous for God, and have not forgotten his covenant in these declining times, and all these who favour their righteous cause; *The Lord who liveth, and was dead, and is alive for evermore, Amen, knoweth your works, tribulation and poverty, but you are rich; and also the blasphemy of them who say they are Christians, and are not, but are the synagogue of Antichrist; Fear none of these things which you do, or shall suffer; your afflictions are but for trial; and may be short: be faithful unto the death, and ye shall have the crown of life.* And as ye love God and the Father of our Lord Jesus, who gave his only and eternal delight unto the death for us sinners; as ye love our Lord Jesus Christ, *who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood*; as ye love the Holy Spirit of grace, who breathes all this love into our hearts, and comforteth and *sealeth us unto the day of redemption*; as ye love the blessed gospel, in the light whereof all this love is revealed, and God therein mainly glorified; as ye love the church of God, *which he hath purchased with his own blood*; as ye love (for your own souls, and for your posterity) eternal life; as ye love poor Scotland, and its deliverance from the dreadful and imminent wrath of God; and as ye love the preservation of all interests, either spiritual, temporal or eternal; adhere stedfastly to the holy

covenant, that ſacred and firm bond and engagement unto all duties of religion and righteouſneſs, our bleſſed charter of all the Lord's bleſſings and ordinances, eſpecially of that great ordinance of the miniſtry and government of the Lord's houſe, which he himſelf hath appointed the hedge of all other ordinances, and the great and moſt effectual mean of the goſpel's eſtabliſhment and advancement. For, as it is only the holy zeal of God, inſpired and animated by the fervent love of our Lord Jeſus, and the fear of the Lord's great name, and the regard of his ſacred oath, that can make you of quick underſtanding in theſe perillous times, for the diſcovering of both duties and dangers, and ſtrengthen you with all might, either for doing or ſuffering, that you may endure unto the end; ſo you may be aſſured, that if the Lord's thoughts toward *Scotland* be thoughts of peace, and not of evil, to give us an expected end, (as we have great ground and perſuaſion of hope,) it ſhall be upon the broken plank of this deſpiſed covenant, that this toſſed and ſhipwreck'd church ſhall be preſerved in miſt of all theſe fluctuations, and at length attain to its deſired haven of peace and truth. Yea, though this apoſtaſy and perfecution ſhould prevail to wear out the ſaints of the moſt High, and *the Lord*, *becauſe of the overſpreading of abomination, ſhould determine and bring upon us utter deſolation*; yet ſhall this your faithfulneſs be your peace, joy and victory. Let all therefore that deſire to be found faithful, look unto Jeſus and his joy; that with him, *enduring the croſs, and deſpiſing the ſhame*, we may neither faint nor be weary, but in end be partakers of his victory, throne and crown.

Thus we have ſeen and declared the great work of God in this land, from the firſt times of our reformation unto this day; we have alſo ſeen our manifold

nifold provocations, whereby we have often turned, tempted, and provoked the most High; and all these judgments, temptations and discoveries, wherewith, by the space of now more than an hundred years, he hath corrected and exercised us; and we are at length arrived unto, and have considered, the present state and posture of our affairs: Wherein, though,

1. The extremity of apostasy, exceeding all that any age can parallel, and aggregable by all the circumstances of most clear and glorious manifestations, most solemn and sacred engagements, most sudden and causeless backsliding, and most national, daring and violent defection that any church can be charged with.

2. The extremity of persecution and violence, which, considering either the actors; (once ring-leaders, now apostates from the same holy covenant which they persecute) or the manner, by hostile and military force, without so much as regarding their own laws, which they pretend for warrant; or the cruelty and excess, whereby mens lives are imbittered, making them prefer death, to the slaveries and insolencies which they sustain, are not to be instanced in any Christian church.

3. The extremity of sin and profanity, and of the enemies boasting and blasphemy, whose mouths are set against the heavens, and all the spite of their tongues, and indignation of their hearts, against the holy covenant, and tenderness of conscience, over which, and all their followers, they wickedly insult and rejoice. And,

4. The extremity of mens fainting and deserting so good a cause; which in their hearts they secretly own and approve, but dare not avow; yea, are ready to deny for fear of the adversaries: Though, we say, these extremities (undeniably ap-

parent in our present condition) do sadly denounce unto this land, the worst and most woful of all extremities, even unto utter forsaking and desolation, and that the end is come; yet notwithstanding all these hopeles and desperate appearances, it is the Lord *who causeth light to shine out of darkness*, and saith, *In the evening it shall be light*; who saith unto *dry bones*, *Live*, and calleth his people out of their graves, who even *calleth things that are not, as though they were*, in whom all the seekers of his face ought to rejoyce, and joy in the God of their salvation. Therefore, although, that over and above all these menacing evils, the power and pride of the enemy should yet more prevail, even many degrees above all the appearances of human hope or help, and all neighbouring nations should not only give them the leisure and conveniency, but with their all might conspire and concur with our enemies, to intend their persecution, and strengthen their apostasy; yet are the Lord's faithful, not only partakers of that *river, the streams whereof make glad the city of God*, though surrounded with the siege of nations, batteries of mountains, and insurrections of the universe against it, and *are built on that rock against which the gates of hell cannot prevail*; and do also know, that *their God whom they fear is able to deliver them from this fiery trial, and he will deliver them from their persecutors*; and if not, that nothing, save the design of greater glory to his own name, in a greater mercy and salvation to his people shall impede it: but all that love the Lord's salvation have also sure ground of hope, that the Lord, as he will pour out his wrath upon his adversaries, so will he remember for Scotland his covenant; awake and give a shout against his enemies, and that, now when he seeth their wrath, how they behave themselves strangely, and say,
Our

Our hand is high, and the Lord hath not done all this; the Lord will bring forth for his remnant (even that holy seed which shall be the substance of this land) that deliverance which is laid up in store with him, and sealed up amongst his treasures. For unto God belongeth vengeance and recompence, even the vengeance of his broken covenant, of his dear saints blood, and of his polluted sanctuary. The adversaries foot shall slide in due time, for the day of their calamity is at hand, and the things that shall come upon them, make haste. For the Lord shall judge his people, and repent himself for his servants, when he seeth that our power is gone, and there is none shut up or left: And the Lord shall say, See now that I, even I am he, and there is no God with me: I kill and I make alive, I wound and I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand; for I lift up my hand to heaven, and say, I live for ever. If I whet my glittering sword, and mine hand take hold on judgment, I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me. I will make mine arrows drunk with blood (and my sword shall devour flesh) and that with the blood of the slain and the captives, from the beginning of revenges upon the enemy. Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people, for he will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be merciful unto his land, and to his people. This is the song which God hath taught us; and therewith we shut up and seal the faith and patience of the saints.

AND now, having finished the narration intended of the work of God, and having seen, and being persuaded, that all the degrees and passages of its progress and advancement, were the very vestiges of the Lord's ascendent power and glory, which

he hath also sealed by the salvation of many thousands for our assured confirmation, that as this work of God, so shall it not come to nought; but that these antichristian *Prelates* who oppose it, though in the same spirit and power of darkness, which hath mainly caused and procured all the sin, temptation and ruin that hath befallen any gospel church, since the blessed coming of our Lord Jesus in the flesh, they should arise unto, yea surmount the very height of the Papacy and *Antichrist* himself, in their persecutions and tyranny, they shall nevertheless in the end, be found even to fight against God, and perish for ever in their gain-saying. As we do therefore desire to remain steadfast, immoveable, and always abounding in the work of the Lord, and every point and circumstance thereof, without fainting or wearying, even unto the death, in and over which the Lord hath caused his faithful witnesses so gloriously to triumph; so we do only here subjoin, for the clear and unanswerable conviction and condemnation of the perfidy and wickedness of these accursed *Prelates*, both before the world, and even in their own consciences, if any sense thereof do yet remain: That though we had never seen any of these great and glorious things, whereby the Lord since the year 1637 did revive, confirm and magnify his work amongst us, and that the *National Covenant* had not been since retaken, much less explained and established, nor the *League and Covenant* ensued it; yet since the same doth still stand in the plain and simple terms, wherein it was conceived, and in that sense and meaning, wherein both its express words, and all the circumstances which we have before observed, do plainly evince that it was at first taken; as this Covenant doth remain unto this day (notwithstanding all the *Prelates* wickedness, perjury

jury and violence) unrepealed or condemned, and by no contrary explanation or gloss, either is or can be detorted from, being an undeniable abjuration of accursed, Prelacy and all its corruptions; so is it a certain, fixed and immoveable foundation for all the work of God that hath ensued, and a very sure ground of confidence to all who seriously depend, and firmly adhere to it, that the Lord who loved us of old, and choosed our fathers, shall yet again by his mighty Spirit and power, turn the hearts of the children unto the fathers, and bring us back unto the Lord God of our fathers; and, upon this same foundation, yet repair our breaches, build up the old wastes, and raise and rear up his glory.

F I N I S.



Some INSTANCES of the S U F F E R I N G S O F

G A L L O W A Y and N I T H S D A L E.

BECAUSE in the former *Deduction*, mention is made of a paper containing some of the Sufferings of *Galloway* and *Nithsdale*, it is not inconvenient, for more particular information, to subjoin a few instances out of the same paper. And,

First, At three several inroads which the soldiers have made into that country, in the years 1663, 1665, and 1666, they exacted from the people there, for adhering to their old faithful ministers, and not submitting to the ministry of those whom the *Prelates* violently obtruded upon them, the sums of money underwritten, *viz.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
From 49 families in the parish of <i>Garfphairn</i> , — —	4864	17	0
From 43 families in parish of <i>Dalry</i> , — —	9577	16	8
From 49 families in <i>Balmaclelland</i> , — —	6430	10	0
From 9 families in <i>Balmaghie</i> , — —	425	11	8
From 2 or 3 families in <i>Tungland</i> , — —	166	12	0
From some poor persons in <i>Tuynham</i> , — —	81	4	0
From 20 families in <i>Borg</i> , — —	2026	17	4
From 9 poor families in <i>Girton</i> , — —	525	10	4
From some poor families in <i>Anwith</i> , — —	733	6	4
From 34 inconsiderable families in <i>Kirkpatrick-Durhant</i> , — —	2235	16	0
From some few families in <i>Kirkmabrek</i> , — —	563	6	0
From 3 families in <i>Monigaff</i> , — —	600	0	0
From 18 families in <i>Kircudbright</i> , — —	2580	0	0
		From	

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
From 37 poor families in <i>Locruton</i> , notwithstanding they wanted a Curate,	2080	0	0
From 12 poor families in <i>Traquair</i> ,	756	10	0
From <i>Kells</i> parish, — — —	466	13	4
From <i>Corfmichall</i> parish,	1666	13	4
From 24 families in <i>Parton</i> parish,	2838	9	4
From 42 families in <i>Irongray</i> ,	3362	18	8
Summa	41982	12	0

In the sherrifdom of *Nithsdale* or *Dumfries* shire,

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
From 51 families in the town and parish of <i>Dumfries</i> , — — —	4617	15	4
From 20 poor families in <i>Kirmahoe</i> ,	1341	6	6
From 14 families in <i>Dunfcoir</i> , —	1411	13	4
In <i>Glencairn</i> parish, — —	2146	14	8
Summa of <i>Nithsdale</i>	9517	9	10
Summa totalis	91500	1	10

And altho' these sums (being *Scots* money) may seem small to strangers, yet considering that they are not levied proportionally from all the people, but some select persons within these bounds, and that there are nineteen or twenty parishes of which there is no account at all; and that the great expence of free quarters by the soldiers, in most of the parishes above-named (which would amount to a great sum) is not included, and that several persons have not as yet payed, but are to pay their fines and cefs; and that several of the poor people, thro' fear, at divers times, have given bribes in money and other things, to officers and soldiers, for keeping them free of cefs and quartering (notwithstanding whereof they were little or nothing the better) and that the parliament before, arbitrarily and for no alledged crime, had exacted by their act of fineing,

ing, from 132 persons within the said bounds, the sum of 77120 pounds *Scots* money; and that the cess (besides free quartering) levied by the soldiers, according to the *commissioner's* orders, for alledged deficiency in payment of the said fines, extended to near as much as the principal; considering, I say, all these things, the sums are very considerable, and much greater than could have been expected in so little bounds, and in a country so poor and mountainous, and less fertile than many others in the land.

But the exacting of money was not all, but in effect a small-part of their oppression: for the carriage of the soldiers in free quartering was very cruel, barbarous and inhumane, as will appear by these general aggravations and particular instances.

Ordinarily, in quartering, they did not content themselves with sufficiency, but set themselves to consume and waste needlessly; sometimes throwing whole sheep to their dogs, and scattering corn, hay and straw; they and their boys usually saying, *We came to destroy, and we shall destroy you.*

Ordinarily, when they had consumed the landlord, they quartered upon the poor tenants; and when they had consumed the tenants, did fall upon the land-lords, although they had conformed; as they did upon a gentleman in *Kirkmahoe*.

Frequently those who conformed from the beginning, and others who conformed of late, did no less suffer, than these who conformed not at all; and some in several parishes, who had given all the obedience which was demanded, suffered more than those who gave none at all; yea, conforming husbands have been punished by fine, cess and quartering, for their nonconforming wives.

It is also to be considered, that, besides all that the country had thus suffered, the soldiers were again

gain sent forth through the country, and new fines, cefs and quarter, were imposed upon the same persons and families who had been fined before; yea, upon some it was doubled and tripled, so that some yeomen were fined in 500 merks *Scots*, besides their former fines. All which is the more considerable, that, altho' the Papists in that country were very numerous, few of them were troubled, and these inconsiderable persons, who were only fined in inconsiderable sums for the fashion.

And particularly in the parish of *Balmaclellan*, a poor widow with several fatherless children, after she had payed at several times 320 merks, and suffered the cefs of three soldiers seventeen days, coming to the commander of that party to complain of some wrongs done unto her, instead of access, she is mercilessly boasted down stairs.

In the same parish an old deaf man, after he had payed 52 rix-dollers, and then given bond for 350 pounds *Scots*, was so tossed, what by being brought before the *high-commission*, and what by rude usage at home, that he contracted a sickness and died; and thereafter his power widow, having payed 120 pounds, was quartered upon many days, until she was forced to leave her house, and through cold and double grief contracted a deadly sickness.

In the same parish a poor man, having been quartered upon and payed 120 pounds *Scots*, was himself cast into prison, while eight soldiers quartered upon him at home. In the same parish, a gentleman who did ordinarily come to church, was quartered upon, by six soldiers, notwithstanding that himself, his lady, and most part of his family were sick.

In the same parish a poor man being quartered upon 28 days, and having payed 48 pounds, and given bond for 150 pounds, though, as we are in-

informed, he hath not so much as a free cow, when he came to complain, he was beaten by the officer, and returning, was again beaten by the soldiers. In the same parish, a poor bed-ridden man with his sick wife were necessitated to beg, until he gathered three pounds to give for his fine or cess.

In the same parish, a very poor bed-ridden cripple man was forced to pay fifty merks.

In the same parish a very old honest man, who being reckoned past eighty years, and unable to work in his trade being a cooper, and scarce having the worth of a groat of free goods, but the country's charity, was forced to pay twenty pounds.

In the parish of *Corfmichal*, the souldiers being quartered in a house, having left some broth of mutton, did violently thrust away the hungry children from supping thereof, till first they set their dogs to leap it, and then did bid the children take what the dogs had left.

In the parish of *Parton*, the soldiers, horse and foot, after they had quartered fifteen weeks in a gentleman's house, till they had eaten up the provision wherewith he should have maintained his family, having five or six small children, they forced his wife and servants to the doors, after they had been their slaves and servants all that time, and then possessed themselves absolute masters of his whole houses, plenishing, cattle, and what else was his, within their reach; and when some good neighbours had received the little ones for shelter, with great difficulty could they obtain one milk cow of twelve belonging to their father, for supply of the children. *Nota.* This gentleman seems to be utterly broken, and has been several times imprisoned and miserably tossed up and down.

In the parish of *Borg*, in a gentleman's house, the fol-

soldiers did quarter for fifteen weeks, till they consumed the whole provision of the family, which was well furnished with meal and malt, and other necessaries; they also destroyed the whole plenishing (except one table which they left, in case they came again) even to the pulling down of the partition-wall of the main dwelling house, and pulling down of an office-house without the gate: all this destruction they committed by giving and selling one part within the country, and sending another part to *Glasgow*, and breaking and burning the rest of it, of purpose that it might be useless for the owner, who was forced to flee before, and betake himself to wandering with his brother and their families. And after they had committed all this vastation, they also fell upon their tenants, and forced them to bring in malt, sheep, fowls, and other things (for their maintenance) that they pleased to call for, and so ruined them also; and two of his tenants they forced to scatter their families, having threatened to burn their houses, besides all the destruction they had done to their master and them before.

In the parish of *Irongray*, a poor tenant having bargained with the soldiers, to redeem his goods for thirty-six pounds, when he came to *Dumfries*, they would hardly take fifty pounds, so that he was forced to borrow the *overplus*, and being returned home to shear his corns, and expecting no more trouble from them, they came back upon him and took away his beasts and all, even to the leading away of his hay. The like was practised upon another in the same parish.

And further, some maintenance imposed in the year 1648, being alledged unpaid by several gentlemen and others within the sherrifdom of *Nithsdale*, letters of horning were raised by the collectors,

tors, which letters and executions thereof were suspended, because the same was already payed, and yet notwithstanding, troopers were sent to cefs, and quarter upon the said persons, till they should make payment, although the suspension was not discussed; and several of them, to be relieved of the heavy burthen of the cefs and quartering, were constrained to make payment thereof, and that by and attour the cefs for the same, which was far above the said maintenance, insomuch that a gentleman, who at first might have payed for thirty pounds, the party that went to cefs upon him would not agree to remove for less then 200 merks; yea, after an order was procured from the *commissioner*, for removing the cefs for the said maintenance, a party of eight or nine horsemen, with their boys and horses, were sent once and again to quarter upon some gentlemen, until they were forced to make a new address to the *commissioner* for removal thereof.

By all which, that country was so exhausted of money, that neither poor nor rich could get it to satisfy these mens demands, and the poor people were forced to sell their beasts in the market below their worth; insomuch that they were forced to sell a cow for two nobles or two crowns, the foldiers in the mean time standing by to receive the same, although the poor men had destitute families at home: yea, many families whose sums are not here reckoned, in probability are totally ruined, and many others scattered, and particularly in *Lochrutton* there are above sixteen families broken. In *Irongray* the most part of the families are broken, beside several that are already put from house-keeping, the foldiers having taken away, both there and elsewhere, that which the people should have lived upon; yea, several gentleman, formerly in good condition, were
put

put from house-keeping, and forced to wander, and be beholden to others for a night's lodging, the soldiers having violently possessed themselves of their barns, cattle, and other goods.

Neither is this all, the wickedness, profanity and blasphemies of the soldiers, are rather to be abhorred and suppressed, than thought or spoken of, if the notoriety thereof were not universal in these bounds.

In the parish of *Carsphairn*, in an inn at the bridge of *Deugh*, on the sabbath-day, some of them being quartered there, they most profanely and atheistically mocked at all preaching of the gospel, saying, *Let us go preach*, and then read their text out of the *Cherry and the Slae*, an old *Scots* amorous poem, counterfeiting a form of divine worship, and as we are informed, did sing another part of the same poem instead of the Psalms; and used all other mocking modes, as if they had been serious at God's worship.

In the parish of *Irongray*, an honest man retiring himself to the fields for secret prayer, not having liberty at home, was followed by the soldiers, who drew swords upon him, threatening to kill him, if they heard him praying any more, saying, *Sir, We have heard you many times howling, if we hear you again, &c.*

Another time in that same parish, the master of the house was exhorting them to leave off their swearing and profanity, showing them the danger and hazard they were in of the condemnation of hell, some of the soldiers mocking at hell, most blasphemously answered, *By my soul, ere I go to hell, it shall cost God twenty-four hours pains ere he get me there.*

In the town of *Kirkcudbright*, when one captain *Fin* an horseman died, one of his comrades coming to see him, and finding him dead, came near, and

rudely gripping the dead man, used this horrid expression, *What, devil, art thou dead man? and did not tell me before, that I might have sent a letter to hell with thee* (to such a comrade of his as he named, who had died lately before) *to take up my winter quarters.*

In the same town also, as is informed, some of them conveneing at the cross, and there drinking healths, one of them personating ** (who dare express whom) used this blasphemous expression to his comrades, *Ye are my angels, and I drink to you all.* But we abhor to mention any more of this sort; only this is certain, that Atheism and Blasphemy is become so ordinary with them, that some of themselves are forced to regret it.

In the parish of *Carssphairn*, some of the foot soldiers did so barbarously and cruelly struggle with a man's wife to have forced her, till she was rescued out of their hands by some women, that she for fear parted with child, and kept her bed half a year, being near unto death, and little hope of recovery.

Also, in a gentleman's house in the same parish, where they were quartered, they cruelly beat some of the servants, to the effusion of their blood, for all the good service they had done them.

POSTSCRIPT.

BY these things, which have been done in *Gal-loway* and *Nithsdale*, as the reader may compute what vast sufferings and horrid abominations must be in the whole land, many places whereof are no less disaffected to Prelacy, when there are so many and gross, in so little bounds, and so short a time; so he may perceive, what provocation that

poor

poor oppressed people had, to endeavour their own preservation, and to take hold of any opportunity for vindicating their religious and civil interests: and what reasons others, either in the same condition with them, or upon the common ground of non-conformity, being threatened, and justly fearing to be shortly reduced thereunto, had, according to their obligation in the covenant, for mutual defence and assistance in the common cause of religion and liberty, to join with them for their help. Neither should I have adventured to insert these instances, if (besides the diligent care that was used in collecting them, making them credible; the notoriety of them, whereby they were unquestioned in that part of the country; and many such like things, whereunto all that is mentioned, is but like a preface, committed since *November 1666*, especially in the western parts, rendering them probable) they were not the native product of this prelatical course, betwixt which and them there is such connection, as is betwixt the natural cause and the effect; and if the committers thereof had not had command, example and encouragement for many of them from the Prelates, whom they resemble as much *as face answereth to face in water*. It is true, the Prelates should no more bear all the blame, than Satan (who restraineth none, but tempteth to all) should be charged with all the sin of man, and they were and are first and chief in the transgression, who were their authors, and are their upholders and abettors; and in retaliation of their flattery of the powers, and connivance at profaneness in all, and in subserviency to their interest and design, have perpetrated and permitted so much wickedness and oppression; yea, the peoples walking willingly after the commandment, will never excuse those, who by law, force and example, make *Israel* to sin: yet

it is above contradiction, that Prelacy is the chief, though not the only interest, in subserviency to which all these things are done; and the Prelates themselves are a conjunct, if not the principal cause thereof. These men having put off their former vizards, no man needeth further to unmask them: Let those who employed and maintained *Sharp* to agent their cause, and others who promoted him to the Prelacy, declare their own experience of his continued *series* of ungrate deceiving and undermining of them and their interest, under trust and professions to the contrary, as all men know that he hath impiously betrayed the church and cause of God: if they will not, let his own many letters wrote unto them, be produced, as in reason, and for vindication, they should, and they will evince him to be the archest traitor that ever *Scotland* bred: And how can it otherwise be? Will he who is false to God, be true to any man? If that man escape some stupenduous and disgraceful remark by the hand of God or man; I will not say, that others need neither fear the one, nor regard the other; but sure I am, that many more experienced in the observation of divine providence, and foreseeing than I am, are much mistaken. Let the city of *Glasgow*, and persons of all qualities, especially in that countryside, ingenuously say, whether that fiery zealot for the height of *English* hierarchy and ceremonies, and otherwise insignificant man, Mr. *Burnet* prelate there, doth not, in just recompence of too many their enslaving their own light and conscience, in flattery of him, and complying with that course, most insolently domineer over them as his slaves, with as much pride, ambition and contempt, as the most absolute prince doth over his vassals. Let these of the synod of *Glasgow* remember, with what deep dissimulation Mr. *Hamilton* prelate of *Galloway*,
did

did by exprefs suffrage declare, before the last fynod there, againſt the ſame Prelacy, which, at that ſame inſtant of time, he was clandeſtinely correſponding with the rulers to eſtabliſh. This man, of all others, hath been the chief cauſe of all the oppreſſion and perſecution in that country, and thereby the occaſion of the late riſing in arms, and blood that hath followed thereupon. One inſtance of Mr. *Honeyman* prelate of *Orkney*, I cannot omit, that in the year 1661, when Mr. *Sharp* had diſcovered himſelf, walking in his own garden, he ſaid to a famous perſon who can bear witneſs thereof, (juſt as *Balaam* ſpake truth whether he would or not) that Mr. *Sharp* was as falſe as *Judas*, and I would gladly know, to whom this *caſuiſt*, who ſince hath embraced a biſhoprick, will compare himſelf for falſhood, except to him who entered into *Judas* with the ſop. I need tell no man who knoweth the perſons, of the brutiſh ſenſuality of Mr. *Wallace* prelate of the *Iſles*, who ſtudieth more the filling of his belly, than he was ever fit for feeding of the flock; nor of the hatred of godlineſs and good men in Mr. *Guthrey* prelate of *Dunkel*, who, while he was miniſter at *Stirling*, was an old perſecuter of both; nor the ſcandalous drinking of Mr. *Straughan* prelate of *Brechen*, let thoſe who viſit him in his own houſe, declare how liberally he uſeth to entertain them with wine there, upon their own expence. It is true indeed, that Mr. *Leighton* prelate of *Dumblain*, under a jeſuitical-like viſard of pretended holineſs, humility, and crucifixion to the world, hath ſtudied to ſeem to creep upon the ground, but always up the hill, toward promotion, and places of more eaſe, honour and wealth; and as there is none of them all hath, with a kiſs, ſo betrayed the cauſe, and ſmitten religion under the fifth rib, and hath been ſuch an offence to the godly; ſo there is none

who by his way, practice and expressions, giveth greater suspicion of a popish affection, inclination and design. If these men had not put off their own vail, no pencil of the most skilled artist could have drawn them to the life; but now, by shewing of themselves, they have saved others a labour, or at least made it more easy. And therefore I shall rake no more into this unpleasant dunghill of the vilest vices, which they, and their brethren in iniquity, (whom not naming here doth not except from their part of the charge of ambition, pride, sensuality, idleness, covetousness, oppression, persecution, dissimulation, perjury, treachery, and hatred of godliness and good men, have heaped together in their own persons, and transfused to others over all the land. O the immense long-suffering and unsearchable wisdom of God! who, hearing the cry of these things, stirreth not the zeal of all, to execute his just judgment upon these men; but, it may be, he is ripening and reserving them, for a more God-like stroke, than any would be acknowledged to be wherein man was instrumental. Neither are their mercenaries, whom they hire as possilions to ride upon the fore-horse of all their wickedness, less skilled, but more forward that way than their drivers. It were as far above the faith of any, who have not heard and seen, to believe, and might render any pen suspected of the want of truth or tenderness, to write the hundredth part, as it is easy to instance incredibly much, but endless to relate all that is true of the ignorance, lightness and profaneness of these men.

When I have told, that several lying in known and acknowledged fornication, without removal of the scandal, have been admitted to the ministry by the *Prelates* who knew it, and violently obtruded by them and the patrons upon the offended people;
that

that some of them after admission, have been apprehended lying with women by the way side; that others have been found guilty of actual fornication, and of unanswerable presumptions of adultery, with other mens wives; and that drunkenness is both open and frequent amongst many of them, I may well awake the wonder, the blush and horror of the reader, but I have only begun to shew a-part, and indeed a very small part, of these mens ways. A prophet he may be by way of prognostication, but let the world judge what manner of preacher he must be, who, offended that the people did not come to hear him, did, before the congregation, imprecate thus against himself, *God nor I be hanged, but I shall make you all come.* Another refused to pay the price of a horse before he pleased (which he used to boast privately would beat doomsday) because the feller, at the making of the bargain, in civility said, *Pay me when ye please;* and thereupon, to the scorn and derision of all, sustained an action of law some days before a civil court? Who will commerce with such horse-coupers? but much less who can acknowledge such men for ministers? These men, being themselves, generally, without the substance and form of religion, are such malicious persecutors of both, in others, that as I could never hear of one soul turned from Satan to God by their labours (whereof indeed there are many profane seals) so they are become vile in the eyes of all that are truly godly, or but morally civil; insomuch that this is the only advantage, (and indeed it is an advantage, for if they were more smooth and sober, they might be more insnaring) that they do not wear a rough garment to deceive; and though I cannot say, that their outside is as unclean as their inner side, yet it such as saith in every man's heart, that *the fear of God is not be-*

fore their eyes. These are the pleasant birds, that are hatched and cherished under the warm wings of Prelacy, of whom, though no man can speak the half of the truth to a stranger, without exposing himself to the censure of partiality, passion, or being a reproacher; yet the universal and uncontroverted notoriety of these things, in all places where they reside or converse, will absolve the relater before all men who know them. It is true, we do not charge every individual with every particular, yet because they are generally true of many, and being notourly known, and sometimes represented, are not remedied, they are chargeable upon the course, which being sinful in itself, the authors and abettors thereof are participant of the guilt, and liable to the punishment. And indeed the Lord hath already begun his controversy with some of them, not only by pouring shame and contempt upon them (particularly upon traitorous *Sharp*) and drying up the right eye, and blasting the gifts which several seemed to have (whether by their own negligence, which every man observeth, or immediate judgment, or both, I do not determine) but also by visible cursing of their substance, diverse of them being necessitate through poverty to sell their tithes at half worth, long before they are payable, and others of them to remove, leaving more debt behind, than they are able to discharge. Neither have these men thus profaned the sanctuary only, and by the sins of the sons of *Eli* made all men to *abhor the offering of the Lord*; but from them are issued forth, such overflowing streams of wickedness over the land, that, besides all that is mentioned, there are other inconceivable and inexpressible atheistical abominations, said to be committed by men, which, as it is a wonder the Devil himself should dare to act, so for fear of the great
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and dreadful God, and of offending the ears of others, my heart trembleth to think, and my hand faileth to write. O Lord forgive, that ever another speaking, but much more acting, should have occasioned my thinking thereof.

And yet, as if all that is related were too little for sanctuary to themselves, for further enslaving of the country, and venting of insatiable revenge (*curst be their anger, for it is fierce, and their wrath, for it is cruel*) they have procured two proclamations, dated at Edinburgh, March 15. 1667, making mention of *great evidence of many disaffected persons in the western shires, who are ready to break out in open rebellion, and involve the kingdom in blood; and of just reason of suspicion that these rebels will rise in arms against the king and his authority, and not only make use of the arms, powder and ammunition concealed or transported from enemies, but seize upon the arms of others, and invade the ministers of the gospel, &c.* And therefore for preventing and disabling of them to put themselves in military posture, to make sudden marches or attempts upon other subjects or the standing forces, or to join with other persons of pernicious and disloyal principles, &c. commanding all persons within the shires of Lanerk, Ayr, Renfrew, Wigton, and stewarty of Kircudbright, who have refused or deserted publick trust, who withdraw from public ordinances, and keep not their parish churches; or do not submit to the present government of the church, and all who, being warned, did not join to suppress the late rebellion, unless they take the oath of allegiance, and subscribe the Declaration, that after the 15 day of May next, by themselves, or any other for their behoof, they do not keep any horse above the value of one hundred merks; and in case of failzie, that the sberiff value and deliver such horses to the informer, without payment to be made there

therefore; and before the first of May, to deliver to their respective sheriffs all their arms and ammunition (allowing gentlemen only swords) under the pain of fining each gentleman in 2000 merks, and each other person in 500 merks, whereof the one half to the informer; and commanding all heritors and parishioners to defend the persons, families, and goods of their ministers, from all affronts and injuries, with certification, that the sufferers and not opposers of the same, shall be reputed art and part, and be proceeded against with all rigor as guilty thereof; and in case of surprisal, that they pursue, apprehend and present the committers before the council, otherwise to be liable to the reparation of damage, &c. What new and strange policy is there here, that the narrative of both proclamations, instead of concealing, in the time of declared and continued war with foreigners, should proclaim that there are so many disaffected persons, who are ready to rise in arms, to seize upon the arms of others, and weaken the forces of the kingdom, thereby expressing the sense of their own deservings, and the fears of an evil conscience, discovering their own nakedness to enemies, and encouraging foreigners to invade with the more confidence? Must these shires, which, without derogation to others, do eminently flourish with men of piety towards God, and true loyalty, and during the king's exile, did retain a more faithful remembrance of his interest, according to the covenants, than many other places of the kingdom, be, of all other shires within the same, in recompence thereof, rewarded with the titles of *disaffected persons, rebels, men of pernicious and disloyal principles*, and spoiled of their goods? Whence should these, who being spoiled of all arms, first by the *English*, and then by the *council*, since the king's return, be
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presumed to have concealed arms? What ground is there to suggest unto the world, the transportation of arms from enemies? Must every man who will not throw away for nothing his horse and arms, which he hath purchased by his money, be therefore a *seditions and disaffected person*, and accordingly proceeded against with all rigor? If none within these shires must keep a horse exceeding the value above-mentioned, how impossible is it to labour much of the ground? How are covetous wretches, in hope of gaining horses without payment, and the half of the fines for concealed arms, animated to give in invidious informations against the owners? and many poor well meaning people tempted to redeem their beasts at the rate of perjury and breach of covenant? What an absurd thing is it, to punish men, otherwise innocent, only for not accepting or deserting public trust, whereunto they neither have access, nor can continue in without formal and express perjury? How irrational and unjust is it, to command (under a penalty) parishioners to do that which may be impossible, yea, without the compass of their knowledge; such as opposing, but much more apprehending and presenting surprisers? Wherewith, I pray you, shall these who must deliver up all their arms (reserving not so much as a sword) defend themselves, or any other man, against violence and surprizal? We read in our history of a law, whereby for repressing of theft, men were not to shut their doors in the night, and satisfaction was insured to the owner for any thing that should be stolen from him, whereupon a country man alledging his goods to be stolen, obtained payment; but being found thereafter that himself had hid them, he was hanged for a reward to himself and example to others: Now, what if some of these covetous and
malicious

malicious men should (for who can rationally promise and secure, but that they who have done worse, may also) thus abstract, or cause abstract their own goods? What if the Lord should immediately smite them for offering strange fire; or thieves and robbers should fall upon them, or evil spirits in human shape, should haunt or hurt them? must innocent people upon their invidious and false alledgeance be therefore punished? As if the parishioners of *Carsphairn* should pay for *Mackinny's* silver plate, which his own servant stole from him.

Ah! *Scotland, which the Lord planted a noble vine, wholly a right seed! how art thou turned into a degenerate plant of a strange vine!* Where is now the spirit of the fathers, that (as if thy inhabitants were neither Christians, men, nor patriots) religion, the land, ourselves, and the posterity, in bodies, consciences and estates should be thus emancipated, to the interest, lust and design of fourteen Prelates and their hirelings, whom the Lord's sparing is a greater wonder, than if he should convert them into pillars of salt for their apostasy. O back-slidden *Scotland!* *remember from whence thou art fallen, repent and do thy first works, or else he will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.*

The LAST
S P E E C H E S
A N D
T E S T I M O N I E S
Of some who have SUFFERED for the
TRUTH in SCOTLAND,
Since the Year 1660.

The last Speech of the
MARQUIS of ARGYLE,
At his death in *Edinburgh*, May 27th. 1661.

MANY will expect, that I speak many things, and according to their several opinions and dispositions, so will their expectations be from me, and constructions of me; but I resolve to disappoint many, for I come not hither to justify myself but the Lord, *Who is holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works, holy and blessed is his name*; neither come I to condemn others: I know many will expect that I speak against the hardness of the sentence pronounced against me; but I will say nothing to it. I bless the Lord, I pardon all men, as I desire to be pardoned of the Lord myself: let the will of the Lord be done; that is all that I desire.

I hope that ye will have more charity to me now,
than

than ye would have at another time, seeing I speak before the Lord, to whom I must give an account very shortly. I know very well that my words have had but very little weight with many; and that many have mistaken my words and actings both: many have thought me to be a great enemy to these great works, that have of late been brought to pass. But do not mistake me, good people: I speak it in the presence of the Lord, I entered not upon the work of reformation, with any design of advantage to myself, or prejudice to the king and his government; as my latter will which was written 1655, and thereafter delivered to a friend (in whose hands it still remaineth) can show. As for these calumnies that have gone abroad of me, I bless God, I know them to be no more: and as I go to make a reckoning to my God, I am free as to any of these, concerning the king's person or government. I was real and cordial in my desires to bring the king home, and in my endeavours for him when he was at home, and I had no correspondence with the adversaries army, nor any of them, in the time when his majesty was in *Scotland*; nor had I any accession to his late majesties horrid and execrable murder, by council or knowledge of it, or any other manner of way. This is a truth; as I shall answer to my Judge. And all the time his majesty was in *Scotland*, I was still endeavouring his advantage, my conscience beareth me witness in it. So much to that particular. And (*turning about, he said*) I hope, gentlemen, you all will remember these.

I confess, many look on my condition as a *suffering* condition: but I bless the Lord, that he that hath gone before me, hath trod the wine-press of the Father's wrath; by whose sufferings, I hope that my sufferings shall not be eternal. I bless him
that

that hath taken away the sting of my sufferings : I may say that my charter was sealed to day ; for the Lord hath said to me, SON BE OF GOOD CHEER, THY SINS ARE FREELY FORGIVEN THEE : and so I hope my sufferings shall be very easy. And ye know that the scripture saith, *the captain of our salvation was made perfect by sufferings.*

I shall not speak much to these things for which I am condemned, lest I seem to condemn others ; it is well known, it is only for *compliance*, which was the epidemical fault of the nation. I wish the Lord to pardon them : I say no more.

There was an expression in these papers presented by me to the parliament, of the *contagion of these times*, which may by some be misconstrued, as if I intended to lay an imputation upon the work of reformation ; but I declare, that I intended no such thing ; but it only related to the corruptions and failings of men, occasioned by the prevailing of the usurping powers. *At this he turned, and took them all witnesses.*

Now, gentlemen, concerning the nation, I think there are three sorts of people that take up much of the world, and of this nation. There is,

1. The openly profane : and truly I may say, tho' I have been a prisoner, I have not had mine ears shut ; I hear assuredly, that drinking, swearing, whoring, were never more common, never more countenanced than now they are. Truly, if magistrates were here, I would say to them, if they lay forth their power for glorifying of God, by restraining this, they should fare the better ; if they continue in not restraining, they shall fare the worse. I say no more, but either let people shun profanity, and magistrates restrain it, or assuredly the wrath of God shall follow on it.

2. Others are not openly profane (every one will

not

not allow that) but yet they are *Gallio's* in the matter: if matters go well as to their private interest, they care not whether the church of God sink or swim. But whatever they think, God hath laid engagements upon *Scotland*: we are tied by covenants to religion and reformation; these that were then unborn are yet engaged; and in our baptism we are engaged to it. And it passeth the power of all the magistrates under heaven to absolve them from the oath of God: they deceive themselves, and it may be, would deceive others that think otherwise. But I would caveat this, people will be ready to think this a kind of instigation to rebellion in me; but they are very far wrong that think *religion* and *loyalty* are not well consistent. Whoever they be that separate them, religion is not to be blamed, but they. It is true, it is the duty of every Christian to be loyal; yet, I think, the orders of thing are to be observed, as well as their natures; the order of religion, as well as the nature of it. Religion must not be the cock-boat, it must be the ship. God must have what is his, as well as *Cæsar* what is his: and these are the best subjects that are the best Christians. And that I am looked upon as a friend to reformation, is my glory.

3. There is another sort that are truly godly: and to them I must say what I fear, and every one hath reason to fear, (it is good to fear evil) it is true the Lord may prevent it; but if he do not, and truly I cannot foresee any probability of it, times are like either to be very *sinning* or very *suffering* times: And let Christians make their choice: there is a sad *dilemma* in the business, SIN OR SUFFER; and surely, he that would choose the better part, will choose to suffer. Others that will choose to sin, shall not escape suffering; they shall suffer, but it may be, not as I do, (*turning about,*

about, and pointing to the Maiden) but worse : mine is but temporal, theirs shall be eternal ; when I shall be singing, they shall be howling. Beware therefore of sin, whatever you are aware of, especially in such times.

Yet I cannot say of my own condition, but that the Lord in his providence hath mind of mercy to me, even in this world : For if I had been more favourably dealt with, I fear I might have been overcome with temptations, as many others are, and many more I fear will be ; and so should have gone out of the world with a more polluted conscience, than through the mercy of God now I have. And hence my condition is such now, as when I am gone, will be seen not to have been such as many imagined. It is fit, God take me away, before I fall into these temptations that I see others are falling into, and many others I fear will fall : I wish the Lord may prevent it. Yet blessed be his name, that I am kept both from present evils, and evils to come. *Here he turned about a little, and spoke some words to Mr. Hutchison ; when, turning again to the people, he spoke as followeth.*

Some may expect I will regrette my own condition : but truly, I neither grudge nor repine ; nor desire any revenge. And I declare I do not repent my last going up to London, for I had always rather have suffered any thing, than ly under reproaches as I did. I desire not that the Lord should judge any man ; nor do I judge any but myself : I wish, as the Lord hath pardoned me, so he may pardon them for this and other things ; and that what they have done to me, may never meet them in their accounts. I have no more to say, but to beg the Lord, that when I go away, he would bless every one that stayeth behind.

His last words, immediately before he laid his head on the block, after his doublet was off, were these. I desire you, gentlemen, all that hear me this day to take notice, and I wish that all who see me, might hear me, that now when I am entering into eternity, and am to appear before my Judge; and as I desire salvation, and do expect eternal salvation and happiness from him, from my birth to my scaffold, I am free from any accession by my knowledge, concerning counsel, or any other way, to his late majesty's death; and I pray the Lord to preserve his majesty, and to pour his best blessings on his person and government; and the Lord give him good and faithful counsellors. *Turning about to his friends, he said,* Many Christians may stumble at this, and my friends may be discontented; but when things are rightly considered, my friends have no discredit of me, nor Christians no stumbling-block, but rather an encouragement.

The last SPEECH and TESTIMONY of
Mr. JAMES GUTHRIE,
 Minister of the Gospel at *Stirling,*

At his death at Edinburgh, June 1. 1661. which a day or two before his death he wrote, and left with some of his friends sealed and attested under his own hand.

Men and Brethren,

I Fear many of you be come hither to gaze, rather than to be edified by the carriage and last words of a dying man: But if any have an ear to hear, as I hope some of this great confluence have, I desire your audience to a few words. I am come hither

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to lay down this earthly tabernacle and mortal flesh of mine; and I bless God, through his grace, I do it willingly and not by constraint. I say, I suffer willingly: if I had been so minded, I might have made a diversion, and not been a prisoner; but being conscious to myself of nothing worthy of death or of bonds, I would not stain my innocency with the suspicion of guiltiness by my withdrawing: neither have I wanted opportunities and advantages to escape since I was prisoner, not by the fault of my keepers, God knoweth, but otherwise; but neither for this had I light or liberty; lest I should reflect upon the Lord's name, and offend the generation of the righteous: And if some men have not been mistaken, or dealt deceitfully in telling me so, I might have avoided not only the severity of the sentence, but also had much favour and countenance, by complying with the courses of the time: but I durst not redeem my life with the loss of my integrity; God knoweth I durst not; and that since I was prisoner, he hath so holden me by the hand, that he never suffered me to bring it into debate in my inward thoughts, much less to propone or hearken to any overture of that kind. I did judge it better to suffer than to sin; and therefore I am come hither to lay down my life this day. And I bless God, I die not as a *fool*; not that I have any thing wherein to glory in myself: I acknowledge that I am a sinner, yea, one of the greatest and vilest that has owned a profession of religion, and one of the most unworthy that has preached the gospel; my corruptions have been strong and many, and have made me a sinner in all things, yea even in following my duty: and therefore, righteousness have I none of mine own, all is vile; but; *I do believe, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, whereof I am chief*: Through faith in his

righteousness and blood have I obtained mercy; and through him and him alone, have I the hope of a blessed conquest and victory over sin, and Satan, and hell, and death; and that *I shall attain unto the resurrection of the just*; and be made partaker of eternal life. *I know in whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.* I have preached salvation through his name, and as I have preached, so do I believe, and do commend the riches of his free grace, and faith in his name unto you all, as the only way whereby ye can be saved.

And as I bless the Lord that I die not as a *fool*; so also, that I die not for *evil-doing*. Not a few of you may happily judge, that *I suffer as a thief, or as a murderer, or as an evil-doer, or as a busy-body in other mens matters.* It was the lot of the Lord Jesus Christ himself, and hath been of many of his precious servants and people, to suffer by the world as evil-doers; and as my soul scareth not at it, but desireth to rejoyce in being brought into conformity with my blessed Head, and so blessed a company in this thing; so do I desire and pray, that I may be to none of you to-day, upon this account, *a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence.* Blessed is he that shall not be offended at Jesus Christ, and his poor servants and members, because of their being condemned as evil-doers by the world. God is my record, that in these things for which sentence of death hath passed against me, I have a good conscience? I bless God, they are not matters of compliance with sectaries, or designs and practices against his majesty's person or government, or the person or government of his royal father: My heart, I bless God, is conscious unto no disloyalty; nay, loyal I have been, and I commend it unto you to be loyal and obedient in the Lord. True piety is
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the foundation of true loyalty : A wicked man may be a flatterer and a time-server, but he will never be a loyal subject. But to return to my purpose, the matters for which I am condemned, are matters belonging to my calling and function as a minister of the gospel; such as the discovery and reproving of sin; the pressing and the holding fast of the oath of God in the covenant, and preserving and carrying on the work of religion and reformation according thereto; and denying to acknowledge the civil magistrate as the *proper competent judge in causes ecclesiastical* : That in all these things which (God so ordering by his gracious providence) are the grounds of my indictment and death, I have a good conscience, as having walked therein according to the light and rule of God's word, and as did become a minister of the gospel.

I do also bless the Lord, that I do not die as *one not desired*. I know that, by not a few, I neither have been nor am desired. It hath been my lot to have been a man of contention and sorrow : but it is my comfort, that for my own things I have not contended, but for the things of Jesus Christ, for what relateth to his interest and work, and the well-being of his people. In order to the preserving and promoting of these, I did protest against, and stood in opposition unto these late assemblies at *St. Andrews, Dundee and Edinburgh*; and the public resolutions for bringing the malignant party into the judicatories and armies of this kingdom, conceiving the same contrary to the word of God, and to our Solemn Covenants and engagements; and to be an inlet to defection, and to the ruin and destruction of the work of God. And it is now manifest to many consciences, that I have not been therein mistaken; nor was not fighting against a man of straw. I was also desirous, and did use

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some poor endeavours to have the church of God purged of insufficient, scandalous and corrupt ministers and elders; for these things I have been mistaken by some, and hated by others: but, I bless the Lord, as I had the testimony of my own conscience; so I was and am therein approven in the consciences of many of the Lord's precious servants and people; and how little soever I may die desired by some, yet by these I know I do die desired, and their approbation, and prayers, and affection is of more value with me, than the contradiction, or reproach, or hatred of many others; the love of the one I cannot recompense, and the mistake, or hatred, or reproach of the other, I do with all my heart forgive; and wherein I have offended any of them, do beg their mercy and forgiveness. I do from my soul wish that my death may be profitable unto both, that the one may be confirmed and established in the straight ways of the Lord, and that the other (if the Lord so will) may be convinced, and cease from these things that are not good, and do not edify, but destroy.

One thing I would warn you all of, that God is wroth, yea very wroth with *Scotland*, and threatneth to depart and remove his candlestick: the causes of his wrath are many, and would to God it were not one great cause, that causes of God's wrath are despised and rejected of men. Consider the case that is recorded, *Jer. xxxvi.* and the consequence of it, and tremble and fear. I cannot but also say, that there is a great addition and increase of wrath.

1. By that deluge of profanity that overfloweth all the land, and hath reins loosed unto it every where, in so far that many have lost, not only all use and exercise of religion, but even of morality, and that common civility that is to be found amongst the Heathen.

2. By

2. By that horrible treachery and perjury that is in the matter of the covenant, and cause of God, and work of reformation: *Be astonished, O ye heavens at this, and be horribly afraid, be ye very desolate, saith the Lord; for my people have committed two evils, they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water. Shall he break the covenant, and prosper? Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with God, which frameth mischief by a law?* I fear the Lord be about to bring a sword on these lands, which shall avenge the quarrel of his covenant.

3. Horrible ingratitude: The Lord, after ten years oppression and bondage, hath broken the yoke of strangers from off our necks; but what do we render unto him for this goodness? Most of the fruit of our delivery is to work wickedness, and to strengthen ourselves to do evil.

4. A most dreadful idolatry, and sacrificing to the creature: We have changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into the image of a corruptible man, in whom many have placed almost all their salvation and desire, and have turned that which might have been a blessing unto us (being kept in a due line of subordination under God) into an idol of jealousy, by preferring it before him. God is also wroth with a generation of carnal, corrupt, time-serving ministers: I know and bear testimony, that in the church of *Scotland*, there is a true and faithful ministry: Blessed be God, we have yet many who study their duty, and desire to be found faithful to their Lord and Master; and I pray you to honour, and reverence and esteem much of these for their work's sake: And I pray them to be encouraged in their Lord and Master, who is with them to make them as iron-pillars,

and brazen walls, and as a strong defended city in the faithful following of their duty: But Oh! that there were not too many who mind earthly things, and are enemies to the cross of Jesus Christ, who push with the side and shoulder, who strengthen the hands of evil doers, who make themselves transgressors, by studying to build again what they did formerly warrantably destroy, I mean *Prelacy*, and the *Ceremonies*, and the *Service-book*, a mystery of iniquity that works amongst us, whose steps lead unto the house of the great whore, *Babylon*, the mother of fornications: Or whosoever else he be that buildeth this *Jericho* again, let him take heed of the curse of *Hiel the Bethelite*, and of that flying roll threatened, *Zech. v.* And let all ministers take heed that they watch, and be stedfast in the faith, and quit themselves like men, and be strong; and give faithful and seasonable warning concerning sin and duty. Many of the Lord's people do sadly complain of the fainting and silence of many watchmen; and it concerneth them to consider what God calleth for at their hands in such a day: Silence now in a watchman, when he is so much called to speak, and give his testimony upon the peril of his life, is doubtless a great sin. The Lord open the mouths of his servants to speak his word with all boldness, that covenant-breaking may be discovered and reproved, and that the kingdom of Jesus Christ may not be supplanted, nor the souls of his people destroyed without a witness. I have but a few words more to add: All that are profane amongst you, I exhort them to repentance, for the day of the Lord's vengeance hasteneth, and is near: But there is yet a door of mercy open for you, if you will not despise the day of salvation. All that are maligners, and reproachers, and persecutors of godliness, and of such as live godly, take heed

heed what ye do, it will be hard for you to kick against the pricks; you make yourselves the butt of the Lord's fury, and his flaming indignation, if ye do not cease from, and repent of all your ungodly deeds. All that are neutral, and indifferent, and luke-warm professors, be zealous, and repent; lest the Lord spew you out of his mouth. You that lament after the Lord, and mourn for all the abominations that are done in this city, and in the land, and take pleasure in the stones and dust of *Zion*, cast not away your confidence, but be comforted and encouraged in the Lord. He will yet appear to your joy; God hath not cast away his people nor work in *Britain* and *Ireland*: I hope it shall once more revive by the power of his Spirit, and take root downward, and bear fruit upward. There is yet a holy seed and precious remnant, whom God will preserve and bring forth: But how long or dark our night may be, I do not know, the Lord shorten it for the sake of his chosen. In the meanwhile, *be ye patient and stedfast, immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, and in love one to another*: Beware of snares which are strawed thick? Cleave to the covenant and work of reformation; Do not decline the cross of Jesus Christ; *choose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season*; and account the reproach of Christ greater riches than all the treasure of the world. Let my death grieve none of you, it will be more profitable and advantageous both for me, and for you, and for the church of God, and for Christ's interest and honor, than my life could have been. I forgive all men the guilt of it, and I desire you to do so also: *Pray for them that persecute you, and bless them that curse you, bless, I say, and curse not*. I die in the faith of the Apostles and primitive Christians,
and

and Protestant reformed churches, particularly of the church of *Scotland*, whereof I am a member and minister. I bear my witness and testimony to the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the church of *Scotland*, by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods and general assemblies. Popery and Prelacy, and all the trumpery of service and ceremonies that wait upon them, I do abhor. I do bear witness unto the National Covenant of *Scotland*, and the Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the three kingdoms, of *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland*: These sacred, solemn, public oaths of God, I believe, can be loosed nor dispensed with, by no person or party, or power upon earth; but are still binding upon these kingdoms, and will be for ever hereafter; and are ratified and sealed by the conversion of many thousand souls, since our entering thereinto. I bear my witness to the protestation against the controverted assemblies, and the public resolutions; to the testimonies given against the sectaries; against the course of backsliding and defection that is now on foot in the land, and all the branches and parts thereof, under whatsoever name or notion, or acted by whatsoever party or person. And in the last place, I bear my witness to the cross of Jesus Christ; and that I never had cause, nor have cause this day, to repent because of any thing I have suffered, or can now suffer for his name: I take God to record upon my soul, I would not exchange this scaffold, with the palace or mitre of the greatest Prelate in *Britain*. Blessed be God, who hath shewed mercy to such a wretch, and hath revealed his Son in me, and made me a minister of the everlasting gospel; and that he hath deigned, in the midst of much contradiction from Satan and the world, to seal my ministry upon the hearts of not a few of his people, and especially in the station wherein I was last,

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I mean the congregation and presbytery of *Stirling*. God forgive the poor empty man, that did there intrude upon my labours, and hath made a prey of many poor souls, and exposed others to reproach, and oppression, and a famine of the word of the Lord. God forgive the misleaders of that part of the poor people, who tempted them to reject their own pastor, and to admit of intruders, and the Father of mercies pity that poor misled people: And the Lord visit the congregation and presbytery of *Stirling* once more with faithful pastors, and grant that the work and people of God may be revived through all *Britain*, and over all the world. Jesus Christ is my light, and my life, my righteousness, my strength and my salvation: *He is all my salvation, and all my desire.* Him, O him, I do with all the strength of my soul commend unto you. *Blessed are they that are not offended in him: Blessed are they that trust in him. Bless him, O my soul, from henceforth even for ever.* Rejoice, rejoice all ye that love him; be patient and rejoice in tribulation: Blessed are you, and blessed shall you be for ever and ever. Everlasting righteousness and eternal salvation is yours: *All are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's. Remember me, O Lord, with the favour thou bearest to thy people; O visit me with thy salvation, that I may see the good of thy chosen, that I may rejoice in the gladness of thy nation; that I may glory with thy inheritance.*

Now let thy servant depart in peace, since mine eyes have seen thy salvation,

JAMES GUTHRIE.

The

The last SPEECH and TESTIMONY of the
L O R D W A R I S T O N,

At his death in *Edinburgh*, July 22. 1663.

*Right honourable, much honoured, and beloved
 Auditors and Spectators.*

THat which I intended and prepared to have spoken at this time, and in this condition, immediately before my death (if it should be so ordered that it should be my lot) is not at present in my power, having been taken from me: But I hope the Lord shall preserve it to bear my *testimony* more fully and clearly, than now I can in this condition, having my memory much destroyed, thro' much sore and long sickness, melancholy, and excessive drawing of my blood. Though I bleſs the Lord my God, that notwithstanding of the fore-mentioned distempers, I am in ſome capacity to leave this short and weak testimony.

I deſire in the *first* place to confeſs my ſins, ſo far as is proper to this place and caſe, and to acknowledge God's mercies; and to expreſs my repentance of the one, and my faith of the other, through the merits of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt our gracious Redeemer and Mediator: I confeſs that my natural temper (or rather diſtemper) hath been haſty and paſſionate, and that in my manner of going about and proſecuting of the beſt pieces of work and ſervice to the Lord, and to my generation, I have been ſubject to many exceſſes of heat, and thereby to ſome precipitations, which hath no doubt offended ſtanders by and lookers on, and hath expoſed both me, and the work, to their miſtakes, whereby the beauty of the work hath been

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obscured: Neither have I in following of the Lord's work, his good work, been without my own self-seeking; which hath several ways vented itself, to the offence of both God and man, and to the grief thereafter of my own conscience, and which hath often made me groan, and cry out with the Apostle, *O miserable man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?* And to ly low in the dust mourning and lamenting over the same, deprecating God's wrath, and begging his tender mercies to pardon, and his powerful grace to cure all these evils. I must withal confess, that it doth not a little trouble me, and ly heavy upon my spirit, and will bring me down with sorrow to the grave (though I was not alone in this offence, but had the body of the nation going before me, and the example of persons of all ranks to insnare me) that I suffered myself through the power of temptations, and the too much fear anent the straits that my numerous family might be brought into, to be carried unto so great a length of compliance in *England* with the late usurpers, which did much grieve the hearts of the godly, and made these that sought God ashamed and confounded for my sake, and did give no small occasion to the adversary to reproach and blaspheme, and did withal not a little obscure and darken the beauty of several former actings about his blessed and glorious work of Reformation, happily begun, and far advanced in these lands, wherein he was graciously pleased to employ, and by employing to honour me to be an instrument (though the least and unworthiest of many) whereof I am not ashamed this day, but account it my glory, however that work be now cried down, opposed, laid in the dust and trode upon: And my turning aside to comply with these men, was the more aggravated in my person, that I had so frequently
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and seriously made profession of my averfeness from, and abhorrence of that way, and had shown much dissatisfaction with these that had not gone so great a length; for which, as I seek God's mercy in Christ Jesus, so I desire that all the Lord's people, from my example, may be more stirred up to watch and pray, that they enter not into temptation.

2. I do not deny on the other hand, but must testify in the *second* place, to the glory of his free-grace, that the Lord my God hath often shewed and engraven upon my conscience, the testimony of his reconciling and reconciled mercy through the merits of Jesus Christ, pardoning all my iniquities, and assuring me that he would deliver me also by the graces of his holy Spirit, from the spait, tyranny and dominion thereof; and hath often drawn out my spirit, to the exercise of repentance and faith, and often engraven upon my heart in legible characters, his merciful pardon, and gracious begun cure thereof, to be perfected thereafter, to the glory of his name, the salvation of my soul, and edification of his church.

3. I am pressed in conscience to leave here at my death, my true and honest testimony in the sight of God and man, to and for *the National Covenant: the Solemn League and Covenant; the Solemn Acknowledgment of our sins, and Engagement to our duties; to all the grounds and causes of fasts and humiliations, and of the Lord's displeasure and contending with the land; and to the several testimonies given to his interests, by general assemblies, commissions of the kirk, presbyteries, and by other honest and faithful ministers and professors.*

4. I am also pressed to encourage his doing, suffering, witnessing people, and sympathizing ones with these that suffer, that they would continue in the duties of witnessing, mourning, praying, and sympathizing

pathizing with these that suffer, and humbly to assure them in the name of the Lord our God, the God of his own word and work, of his own cause, covenant and people, that he will be seen, found and felt, (in his own gracious way and time, by his own means and instruments, for his own glory and honour) to return to his own truths and interests and servants, and revive his name, his covenant, his word, his work, his sanctuary, and his saints in these nations, even in the three covenanted nations, which were by so solemn bonds, covenants, subscriptions and oaths, given away and devoted unto himself.

5. I exhort all these that have been, or are enemies or unfriends to the Lord's name, covenants or cause, word, work, or people, in *Britain* and *Ireland*, to repent and amend, before these sad judgments, that are pressing fast, come upon them, for their sinning so highly against the Lord, because of any temptation of the time, on the right or left hand, by baits or straits whatsoever, and that after so many professions and engagements to the contrary.

6. I dare not conceal from you, that are friendly to all the Lord's interests, that the Lord (to the commendation of his grace, be it humbly spoken) hath several times, in the exercise of my repentance and faith during my trouble, and after groans and tears upon these three notable chapters, to wit, the ix. of *Ezra*, the ix. of *Nehemiah*, and the ix. of *Daniel*, with other such suitable scriptures, and in the very nick of fervent and humble supplication to him, for the reviving again of his name, cause, covenant, word, and work of reformation, in these covenanted nations, and particularly in poor *Scotland*, which first solemnly engaged to him, to the good example and encouragement of his people,

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in the other two nations, to do the same also, that the Lord, I say, hath several times given to me good ground of hope and lively expectations of his merciful, gracious, powerful and wonderful renewing and reviving again of his fore-mentioned great interests in these covenanted nations: and that in such a way, by such means and instruments, with such antecedents, concurrents, consequents and effects, as shall wonderfully rejoice his mourning friends, and astonish his contradicting and counter-acting enemies.

7. I do earnestly recommend my poor wife and children, and their posterity, to the choicest blessings of God; and to the prayers and favour of all the Lord's children and servants, in their earnest dealing with God and men in their behalf, that they may not be ruined for my cause, but for the Lord my God's sake, they may be favoured, assisted, supplied and comforted, and also may be fitted by the Lord for his fellowship and service; whom God himself hath moved me often, in their own presence, and with their own consent, to dedicate, devote and resign alike, and as well, as I devote and resign my own soul and body to him for time and eternity.

8. I beg the Lord to open the eyes of all the instruments of my trouble, that are not deadly irreconcilable enemies to himself and his people, that they may see the wrong done by them to his interests and people, and to me and mine, and may repent thereof and return to the Lord; and may more cordially own and adhere to all his interests in time coming: the good Lord give unto them repentance, remission and amendment; and that is the worst wish I wish them, and the best wish I can wish unto them.

9. I do earnestly beg the fervent prayers of all
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his praying people, servants and instruments, whether absent or present wherever they be, in behalf of his name, cause and covenant, work and people; and in behalf of my wife, children, and their posterity: and that the Lord would glorify himself, edify his church, encourage his saints, further his work, accomplish his good word, by all his doings and dealings, in substance and circumstance toward all his own.

10. Whereas I have heard, that some of my un-friends have slandered and defamed my name, as if I had been accessary to his late majesty's death, and to the making of the change of government there-upon; the great God of heaven be witness and judge between me and my accusers in this; for I am free (as I shall now answer before his tribunal) from any accession, by counsel or contrivance, or any other way, to his late majesty's death, or to their making that change of government: And I pray the Lord to preserve our present king his majesty, and to pour out his best blessings upon his royal posterity, and to give unto them good and faithful counsellors, holy and wise counsels, and prosperous successes, to God's glory, and to the good and interest of his people, and to their own honour and happiness.

11. I do here now submit and commit my soul and body, wife and children, and childrens children from generation to generation for ever, with all others his friends and followers, all his doing and suffering, witnessing and sympathizing ones, in the present and subsequent generations, unto the Lord's choice mercies, graces, favours, services, employments, impowerments, enjoyments, improvements, and inheritments, on earth, and in heaven, in time and eternity. All which suits, with all others, which he hath at any time by his Spirit moved and

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assisted me to make and put up, according to his will, I leave before, and upon the Father's merciful bowels, and the Son's mediating merits, and the Holy Spirit's compassionate groans, for now and evermore. *Amen.*

The JOINT TESTIMONY

Of those who died together in *Edinr. Dec. 7. 1666.*

Subscribed by them in prison, the same day of their death.

Men and Brethren,

THis is a great and important work, both for us, who are now to render up our spirits to him that gave them: And for you who are not a little concerned in the cause, and in our blood, by justifying or condemning our sentence: And therefore, as we speak to you as dying men, who dare not dissemble with God or man, nor flatter ourselves; so ye should not be idle, curious, or unconcerned spectators.

We are condemned by men, and esteemed by many as rebels against the king (whose authority we acknowledge) but this is our rejoicing, the testimony of our conscience, that we suffer not as evil-doers, but for righteousness, for the word of God, and testimony of Jesus Christ; and particularly, for our renewing the covenant, and, in pursuance thereof, for preserving and defending of ourselves by arms, against the usurpation and insupportable tyranny of the Prelates; and against the most unchristian and inhuman oppression and persecution, that ever was enjoined and practised by just rulers, upon free, innocent and peaceable subjects.

The covenant and cause being so just in themselves,

selves, and the duties of self-preservation and mutual defence in maintenance thereof, being to judicious and unbyassed men so clear, we need to say the less for vindication of our practice: only, the laws establishing Prelacy, and the acts, orders and proclamations made for compliance therewith, being executed against us by military force and violence; and we, with others, for our simple forbearance, being fined, confined, imprisoned, exiled, scourged, stigmatized, beaten, bound as beasts, and driven unto the mountains for our lives; and thereby hundreds of families being beggared, several parishes, and some whole country-sides exceedingly impoverished; and all this, either arbitrarily, and without any law, or respect had to guilt or innocence: or unjustly contrary to all conscience, justice and reason; though under the pretence of iniquous laws, and without regard had to the penalty specified in the law: and all remonstrating of grievances (were they never so just and many) and petitions for redress, being restrained by laws condemning all former remonstrances and petitions in the like cases; there was no other remedy left to us, but that last of necessary self-preservation and defence. And this, being one of the greatest principles of nature, warranted by the law of God, scriptural instances, and the consent and practices of all reformed churches and Christian states abroad, and of our own famous predecessors at home, it cannot in reason or justice be reputed a crime, nor condemned as rebellion by any human authority.

Though we be not the first that have suffered for the cause of God within the land, yet we are among the first that have been legally condemned and put to death expressly for taking the covenant: And we are so far from being ashamed thereof, that we account it our honour to be reckoned worthy to suffer

fer for such a cause; and cannot but bless the Lord, that we have such a cloud of witnesses, in this and other reformed churches, going before us in the same duty for substance, and in suffering therefore.

We cannot but regret (if we could with tears of blood) the national and authorized backsliding of the land, by perjury and breach of covenant; the overturning of the work of reformation; the great desolation of the house of the Lord, by smiting of the shepherds, and scattering of the flocks; the intrusion of so many mercenary hirelings into the ministry, who, because of apostacy, perjury, ignorance and profaneness, can neither be acknowledged as God's mouth to the people in preaching, nor employed as their mouth to him in prayer; the abounding of Popery, superstition, and profaneness by unheard of oaths, blasphemies, uncleannesses and drinking, even in some, whose office and place requireth them to be more exemplary; and the shedding of the blood of the saints by the rage of persecution: And therefore we cannot but disown all these abominable laws, courses, and practices, and declare our abhorrency of the same, and dissent therefrom; protesting before angels and men, that we be not interpreted as consenters thereto; and beseeching the hearer of prayer, that we be not involved in the guilt thereof, nor partake of the plagues which follow thereupon.

As this land was happy above all nations, for the purity and plenty of the gospel, and for a form of church-government more conform to the pattern in the scriptures, than in others of the reformed churches; so we acknowledge his great goodness to us in special, that gave us our lines in such pleasant places; for we have full persuasion of the truth of the reformed religion in the church of *Scotland*, and have felt so much of the power and sweetness there-

thereof, that we do here declare our firm belief and persuasion of, and adherence to the same, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the *National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Directory of Worship, and Propositions for Government*; accounting it our honour and happiness to have been born in it, to have lived in communion with it, and now to die, through grace, members, witnesses and asserters thereof.

And further, as Christians, and as members of the same church and commonwealth, in the fear and zeal of our God, in love to our brethren, in desire of the preservation of church and kingdom, and for our own exoneration, now when we take our leave of the world, we do seriously, and in the bowels of Christ, supplicate, warn, exhort and obtest you, all the inhabitants of the kingdom, from the king to the meanest of the subjects, according to your old principles, professions, promises, declarations, oaths and covenants, faithfully to own, maintain, preserve and defend the said religion; and after the example of our noble and renowned ancestors, to quit yourselves like men and Christians, in endeavouring by all just means, according to your places and powers, to shake off this heavy yoke of *Prelacy, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear*, and which is destructive to all our true interests, religious and civil; as ye would not involve yourselves in the guilt and plagues of perjury and breach of covenant; and as you tender the good of your own names, persons, estates, families and liberties, as well as of your immortal souls; and as ye would partake of the good of God's chosen, and of our joys, when ye come so near eternity as we are.

We shall say no more, but as we were not afraid to take our lives in our hands, so we are not afraid

to lay them down in this cause; and as we are not ashamed of Christ because of his cross, so we would not have you offended in Christ, nor discouraged because of us: for we bear you record, that we would not exchange lots with our adversaries: nor redeem our lives, liberties and fortunes, at the price of perjury and breach of covenant.

And further, we are assured, though this be the day of *Jacob's* trouble, that yet the Lord when he hath accomplished the trial of his own, and filled up the cup of his adversaries, he will awake for judgment, plead his own cause, avenge the quarrel of his covenant, make inquiry for blood, vindicate his people, break the arm of the wicked, and establish the just; for to him belongeth judgment and vengeance: And though our eyes shall not see it, yet we believe that *the Sun of Righteousness shall arise with healing under his wings*; and that he will revive his work, repair the breaches, build the old wastes, and raise up the desolations; yea, *the Lord will judge his people, and repent himself for his servants, when their power is gone, and there is none shut up or left*: And therefore, rejoice, O ye nations, with his people: for he will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and he will be merciful to his land and people, *So let thy enemies perish, O Lord; but let them that love him, be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might.*

Sic subscribitur,

John M'Culloch of Barholm.

Andrew Arnot.

John Gordon of Knockbren.

Robert Gordon his brother.

John Ross.

John Shields.

James Hamilton.

John Parker in Bosby,

Christopher Strang.

Gavin Hamilton.

Another

Another TESTIMONY which was also left by such of the former Ten Persons, as were in the same Chamber with Thomas Paterfon Merchant in Glasgow; who, being in like manner indited, but dying of his Wounds before Sentence, did communicate the same to his friends, with his assent thereunto.

Men and Brethren,

BEING condemned by our rulers as traitors, lest we should seem to many to suffer as evil doers,

1. In the first place, we bless and praise the Lord our God, who hath made us (the unworthiest of all men) worthy to be faithful to him, who is *King of kings and Lord of lords*, and in simplicity and godly sincerity, singly to mind his glory; and who also maketh the cross of Christ (though by men superscribed with treason) our sweet consolation, and his own joy our strength.

2. We declare, in the presence of the same God, before whom we are now ready to appear, that we did not intend to rebel against the king and his just authority, whom as we acknowledge for our lawful sovereign; so we earnestly pray in his behalf, that God would open his eyes and convert his heart, that he may remember his vows made unto God, relieve this oppressed kirk, and long reign and flourish in righteousness.

3. We declare, that perceiving the holy covenants of our God broken, the work of the Lord overturned, the gospel and kingdom of Jesus Christ despised and trampled upon, his pure ordinances corrupted, his faithful and our soul-refreshing ministers cast out, and the land filled with perjury and profanity, and like to be hurried back to that gulf of ignorance, superstition and confusion,

whence the Lord did so gloriously deliver us; and finding ourselves not only spoiled of our most precious blessings, and most dear enjoyments, but urged and compelled by cruel violence and barbarous persecution, to the wicked apostacy from our holy covenants, and to rebellion against our God; and all this done by no other hand than the wicked and perjured Prelates; and for no other ends (whatever they may pretend) than the satisfying of their own vile lusts, and establishing their so often abjured antichristian tyranny, over both souls and bodies of men.

4. And lastly, finding former petitions condemned as seditious, and our private complaints, when but muttered, insolently rejected, we did in the fear and zeal of our God, and by the warrant of his holy word, according to the first and most innocent instinct of pure nature, and the practice of all people and persons in the like case; and after the example of all the oppressed kirks of Jesus Christ, and of our noble ancestors, take the sword of necessary self-defence, from the rage and fury of these wicked and violent men, until we might make our heavy grievances known to his majesty, and obtain from his justice a satisfying remedy.

We will not now mention our particular sufferings, nor the sighs and groans of poor wretched *Galloway*, which though very heavy from the hand of man, are all too light for Jesus Christ; nor are we willing to reflect upon these grievous and bitter laws and edicts, by which they seem to be warranted: only we know, that God is righteous, whose laws and judgments are superior and above all the laws and actions of men. And to him who will judge righteously, we entirely commit our cause, which is none other, than the reviving of the work of God and renewing of his covenant:

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Which though it pleased the holy and wise God, not to favour with success in the field, and though by men it be made our condemnation, yet it is our righteousness, innocency, and confidence in his sight. And all praise and thanks be unto our God, who not only kept us stedfast in his covenant, and made us willing and ready to adventure our lives for his name, but hath also accepted and dignified our offer, with this public appearance: Where, in his own glorious presence, before whom we shall instantly appear, and before our often sworn and once zealous and tender brethren in the same cause, and in midst of thee, O *Edinburgh*, once famous for the glory and zeal of God and of this covenant, we may give and seal this our testimony with our blood,

We therefore, the unworthiest of all the faithful, do, in the Spirit of God and glory, testify and seal with our blood and lives, that both the *National Covenant* and *Solemn League and Covenant*, are in themselves holy, just and true, and perpetually binding, containing no other thing than our indispensable obligation to all duties of religion and righteousness, according to the revealed will of God, which no authority nor power of man, is or ever shall be able to disannul: And that our blessed reformations, both from Popery and Prelacy, and all that was done or ensued, in the sincere and upright prosecution thereof, was and is the work of God, which though men fight against, yet shall they never be able to prevail. And as this is our faith, so it is our hope to all that wait for the salvation of God, that our God will surely appear for his own glory, and vindicate his cause and persecuted people, and render vengeance to his adversaries, even the vengeance of his holy temple and broken covenant. O be not then moved with our sufferings which are but light and momentary, for
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they work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, and for you also a strong confirmation, and abounding consolation against the like trial that possibly may befall you. O then save yourselves from this wicked and apostate generation, and be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work and cause of the Lord: waiting for the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his time he shall shew, who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach, whom no man hath seen, or can see, to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.

The TESTIMONY of
Capt. *A N D R E W A R N O T*,
one of the former Ten, who died *Decem. 7.*

Dear Friends and Spectators,

I am brought by the good providence of God to this public place of execution (which is no dishonour) for points of treason, as is alledged; but God knoweth (who knoweth the secrets of hearts) whether in rebellion or not, I came forth: He is my witness, and will be my judge. And who ever they be that any way have been instrumental or incensed against me, to procure this sentence against me, God forgive them, and I forgive them. I am not now purposed to dispute the matter of my being in company with these worthy Christians who are now defeat and broken, their blood shed, and they despitefully mocked by many: I acknowledge and declare, that I was with them. As to the cause of my being with them, whether in rebellion or not, God knoweth, and all *Israel* shall know.

know. And for me, I say the cause is the Lord's, who made the heaven and the earth, though now it be hated. And I desire to bear witness (with the rest of the worthy witnesses, who are gone before, and are now staged) to the glorious work of reformation in *Britain* and *Ireland*, and to gospel-ordinances in their purity, as they have been taught and administrated these thirty years last past. And I adhere to the presbyterial way of doctrine, worship, discipline and government, by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries and sessions, according to the pattern of the holy Scriptures (Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone) the Confession of Faith, Catechisms Shorter and Larger, Directory for Public Worship, National Covenant, Solemn League and Covenant, and every paper tending to the good of the true religion. And this I think fit to testify and declare under my hand (not knowing if I shall have any liberty to speak) and intend, God willing, to seal with my blood shortly. I confess, that unexpectedly I am come to this place, (though some times I have had some small thoughts of it) and I do account myself highly honoured to be reckoned amongst the witnesses of Jesus Christ, to suffer for his name, truth and cause; and this day I esteem it my glory, garland, crown and royal dignity to fill up a part of his sufferings,

And now I take my leave of you all, my dear and worthy friends and acquaintances. The blessings of the eternal God be multiplied upon you and your seed, and upon all the suffering friends of Christ this day; upon my dear and loving wife, who hath been a faithful sympathizer with me, and upon my dear children. The work of God is now at under, but Christ shall carry the day: Blessed is he that believeth and seeth not, for there shall be

a performance. *Now the eternal God, who brought again the Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, the great Shepherd of the flock, strengthen and establish you, and all the Lord's people. So pray ye, and so prayeth your friend,*

ANDREW ARNOT.

THE TESTIMONY of

J O H N S H I E L D S

Yeoman, one of the former ten, who died at *Edinburgh*, the 7th day of *December* 1666.

I Am a man unlearned, and not accustomed to speak in public; yet being now called to witness and suffer for the Lord in public, I cannot be altogether silent of that which religion and reason hath taught me anent the cause of my suffering.

I bless the Lord, I suffer not as an evil-doer, especially not for any rebellion against his majesty's lawful authority; I attest him who is the searcher of hearts, that was never my intention in the least, and it is as little the nature and intention of what I have done; but for the renewing of the covenant with the Lord, and following the ends thereof, as to the suppressing of abjured Prelates, and intruders upon the Lord's flock, and the restoring of the government of the house of God by presbyters, as he himself hath appointed in his word, with a faithful, godly, called, and sent ministry; and together with pure ordinances, the power of godliness. For this I am condemned, and to suffer this day. This I acknowledged freely before our judges; this I still acknowledge, and am persuaded that herein I witness a faithful confession. This cause and covenant I commend to all the Lord's people. It is not free for you to forsake it; you are inviolably engaged

The Testimony of one of the former Ten. 317

gaged in it; it is not safe to desert it, because of the curse of the perjurer and false swearer. There is unspeakable blessedness in the pursuance of it, whereof I can bear witness to the Lord by my rich experience, since we began to do and suffer at this time for him: whereupon I cheerfully lay down my life for this his cause; he it is who justifieth it, what man or authority under heaven can condemn it? *Arise, O Lord, let not man prevail against thee? plead and judge this cause which is thine own, for thine own name's sake.*

The TESTIMONY of another of the former ten persons, left subscribed with a friend.

I Designed no rebellion against lawful authority, but the suppressing of Prelacy and of profanity; and advancing of holiness in God's world: In a word, I adhere to all the articles of the good covenant, and did intend the restoring of our good and soul-refreshing ministers, and the casting out of the dumb greedy dogs that cannot bark. In this cause I was free volunteer, pressed by none, thinking it my duty to appear for helping the Lord against the mighty. This I testify under my hand, from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 6th of December, 1666.

The TESTIMONY of

Mr. *ALEX. ROBERTSON*,

Preacher of the Gospel, and Probationer for the Ministry, who died at *Edinburgh, December 14. 1666.*

FEARING that after the example of others,
I should not be permitted to speak openly to
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the people, I thought fit (beside my adherence to what my brethren, who have gone before me, left behind them concerning our common cause) to leave a word in writ for satisfaction of them who survive me.

That, for preservation and defence of the true religion of this church, and for the relief of my poor brethren afflicted and persecuted therefore, I joined with others in arms, and that I renewed the covenant, that all men might the better know my cause and principles. I am so far from denying or being ashamed of, that I both acknowledge and avow it as my duty; but let no man, that will not condemn himself upon the same common obligations to do what I did, account me a rebel therefore, because with the same breath that I did swear, and with that same hand that I did subscribe to preserve and defend religion, I did also swear to defend the king and his authority.

Our church was not more glorious in herself, and terrible to her adversaries, while we enjoyed pure ordinances of word and sacraments, and her beautiful assemblies for government and discipline, of the Lord's own institution, than she became of late deformed by the usurpation and tyranny of Prelacy; and I solemnly declare as a dying man, who dare not dissemble, that as I thought and still aver, that the erecting of this abjured Prelacy is the cause of much of the sin in the land, and of all the sufferings of the Lord's people therein; so I had no worse design, than the restoring of the work of reformation according to the covenant, and more particularly the extirpation of Prelacy, to which his majesty, and all the subjects are as much obliged as I. And let that be removed and the work of reformation restored, and I dare die in saying, that his majesty shall not have in all his do-

dominions, more loving, loyal, peaceable and faithful subjects, than these who for their non-compliance are loaded with the reproaches of fanaticism and rebellion.

The sufferings and insupportable oppression of these, that could not, because of the command and oath of God, acknowledge and comply with Prelacy, may seem light to some, in whom the spirit of the old enmity, that is betwixt the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent remaineth, and to others (perhaps their friends) who look thereupon at a distance; but as there is just reason to think, that if these rigid oppressions had been made known to his majesty, his justice and clemency would have provided a remedy, and as the half thereof would have made the Prelates, their patrons and adherents impatiently mad, for as loyal as they pretend to be; so in the like cases of irresistible necessity, when there is little open door for representing of grievances and desires, and less hope of relief thereby, I suppose it will not be found condemned by the confessions of reformed churches, or doctrine of sound divines, but that it is authorized by the light and law of nature, by uncondemned examples in the holy Scripture, and by the practice of all Christian states, by arms to preserve and defend mens lives, their religion, liberties and fortunes; and especially, where they are not seeking to acquire a new religion or new liberties, but only to preserve their old, or recover them, when they are violently and unjustly spoiled of the same, as in our case; otherwise we should sin against the generation of the just, and condemn as rebellious the most of the thorow reformations of the reformed churches abroad, and of our own at home.

If this course was lawful, and if it was our duty to join therein, as I believe and lay down my
life

life in the persuasion that it was; and if all the kingdom was (as they are) bound by covenant to assist and defend one another in the common cause of religion and liberty, whatever may be said of these that came not forth to help the Lord against the mighty, it cannot but be their dreadful sin, who joined themselves in arms, or took oaths to oppose, suppress and break it, seeing they have sided themselves against the Lord and his work, and their carriage is a much higher degree of accession to the blood that was shed, than *Paul's* keeping of the cloaths of them that stoned *Stephen* to death; and I wish that they may lay the matter to heart, and repent of it, that God may forgive them, as I forgive all men, and particularly *Morton*, who did apprehend me.

I know that there is a holy seed in the land, who shall be the substance thereof, and I pray that the Lord may make them more zealous and valiant for the truth upon earth; I know also, that there are many whose bowels of compassion have been drawn forth toward these who took their lives in their hands, by prayers to God for them, and charity to them, and especially in *Edinburgh* toward the poor prisoners (of whom I may not only say, that what they have done, deserveth to be told for a memorial wherever the gospel is preached, but am assuredly confident, that besides the blessings of the poor and persecuted, the Lord is not unrighteous to forget their work and labour of love, which they have shewed towards his name, and that they have ministered to the saints and do minister) and yet I must needs regret, that so many in this city once famous and honoured for harmonious owning of the cause and covenant of God, and blessed above many other cities with solemn assemblies for worship and government, should have been ensnared
into

into an oath so contradictory to the oath of the covenant; and which was devised, contrived, and imposed in lieu of the *Declaration* against the same, and for a grave-stone to suppress the revival of the work of God within this land.

The apostasy of this land is very great by perjury and breach of covenant, and so much the worse and more aggregable, that it is authorized, and very universal? And as I cannot but regret, that so many are ensnared therein, so I must needs warn all to abhor and beware of all declarations and oaths contradictory to the covenant, and renunciatory thereof, as they would not involve themselves in the guilt and plagues denounced against, and ordinarily inflicted upon perjury and breach of covenant; and so much the rather, because this is like to be the *Shibboleth* and trial of the times.

As for myself, I have seen and do find so much worth in truth, which is to be bought at any rate, but sold at none; and so much transcendent excellency and amiableness in Christ, that not only with cheerfulness and confidence I lay down my life for him and his truth, committing my soul to him, to be kept in hope of a joyful resurrection of the body; but also bless him that gave me a life to lose, and a body to lay down for him; and altho' the market and price of truth may appear to many very high, yet I reckon it low, and all that I have or can do little, too little, for him who gave himself for me, and to me: *for I account all things but loss and dung for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord, for whom I now suffer the loss of all things, that I may win him, and be found in him, and that I may not only know the fellowship of his sufferings, but the power of his resurrection, and attain unto the resurrection of the dead.*

And as for you, my dear friends, as I pray for
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 you,

you, that *the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, after ye have suffered a while, may make you perfect, stablish, strengthen and settle you*; so I recommend to you the same truth, that *ye be not soon shaken in mind, but that ye hold fast the profession of your faith without wavering*; And as you have received the Lord, *so walk in him*; warning and obtesting you, by all manner of obligations, and by the hope and joy of that crown which I wait for, that ye keep yourselves unspotted with the abominable courses and practices of these times, whereunto ye may be tempted by the extremity of suffering; and particularly, that ye beware of unlawful oaths and declarations against the cause and covenant of God, that ye have no compliance with, nor give consent unto this Prelacy, which ye have abjured; and that you be afraid and aware of Popery, which by connivance doth so visibly abound and daily increase; but by fighting of the good fight, and keeping of the faith, you may finish your course, as I do, in the assurance of the crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge hath laid up, and shall give unto me, and not to me only, but to all them that love his appearance.

ALEX. ROBERTSON.

THE TESTIMONY OF

JOHN NEILSON of *Corrack*,

Who died at *Edinburgh*, December 14. 1666.

BEING made a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men, I found it necessary, for vindication of the truth, and of myself, for undeceiving of some, and encouraging of others, to leave this line behind me, which with my innocent blood may speak when I am gone.

I am condemned, I shall not say how unjustly, as a rebel against man, but the Lord God of gods he knoweth, and all *Israel* shall know, that it is not for rebellion against God, but for endeavouring to recover the blessed work of reformation, and particularly for endeavouring to extirpate Prelacy, which hath been the cause of so much sin and suffering within this land, and for renewing of the covenant, from the obligation whereof (seeing I made my vow and promise to the Lord) neither I myself, nor any human authority can absolve me. And if any account this rebellion, I do plainly confess, *that after the way which they call heresy, I worship the God of my fathers.*

Altho' the insupportable oppression, under which I and many others did groan, were enough to justify our preserving and defending of ourselves by arms, yet know that the cause was not ours, but the Lord's; for we suffered all our grievous oppressions, not for evil-doing, but because we could not in conscience acknowledge, comply with and obey Prelacy, and submit unto the ministry of ignorant, light and profane men, who were irregularly and violently thrust upon us; neither did we only or mainly design our civil liberties, but the liberty of the gospel, the extirpation of Prelacy, the restoration of our faithful pastors, the suppression of profanity, promoting of piety, the saving of ourselves from unjust violence, until we had presented our grievances and desires; and in a word, the recovering of the once glorious, but now ruined work of reformation, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the *National Covenant* and *Solemn League and Covenant*, to which I declare my adherence; and through grace shall seal the same with my blood.

My advocate drew up a supplication for me,
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wherein was acknowledged, that I had been with the *rebels*; but let none offend thereat: for I do hereby declare, that I was so far from accounting that course rebellion, that I judged, and still do judge, it was my duty to join therein, and my honour to suffer therefore; otherwise, I should have counted myself accessary to the blood of the Lord's people which is shed: And cannot but regrete that others of the Lord's people, when they heard of us, did not come forth with speed to help the Lord against the mighty; much more let all mourn, that not only many have appeared as enemies, but also conjured themselves against the Lord, and the same covenant which they so solemnly sware; and as for the petition itself, I knew not that expression was in it.

Being conscious to myself of so much weakness, and so many hainous sins which predomine in me, and of unfruitfulness under the gospel, and unsuitable walking thereto, I confesse myself the vilest of sinners, and desire to mourn for the same, and pray that the Lord for Christ's sake may freely forgive me, as I have forgiven them that have wronged me, and hope through the righteousness of Jesus Christ to obtain the same; and I do exhort all and every one of my friends to more holiness, prayer and steadfastness, always abounding in the work of the Lord; and above all things, to detest and shun that wicked declaration against the covenant, the apparent temptation of the time, and the very mark of antichristian Prelacy.

All that I have is but little, but if I had many worlds, I would lay them all down, as now I do my life for Christ and his cause, nothing doubting but the Lord will abundantly provide for my wife and my six children, whom I commit to the Lord's care, and recommend to the kindness and prayers of the faithful; and do lay an expresse charge on my wife that she shew all my children, that I have
bound

bound them all to the covenant, for which now I lay down my life, and that she lay it upon them as my last command, that they adhere to every article thereof.

The work and people of God are brought very low: It may be, because they were not ripe for a deliverance; and for the greater trial, and filling up of the cup of the adversaries: Or, because there was little, or less prayer than should have been amongst these who appeared at this time, that the Lord hath made this late breach. But, dear friends, be not therefore tempted to call in question the work of reformation; or to think the worse of Christ and his cause, because of sufferings; nor be discouraged because these few who took their lives in their hands, fell before the adversary; for as sufferings are often sweetned by the Spirit of God and glory that resteth upon the sufferers, and afterward bring forth the peaceable fruits of righteousness unto them that are exercised thereby; so the Lord will arise in due time, and have mercy upon *Zion*, and plead the cause which is his own: And this testimony, as I am this day to seal with my blood, so I subscribe with my hand.

JOHN NEILSON of Corfack.

THE TESTIMONY of

GEORGE CRAWFURD,

Yeoman, who died at *Edinburgh*, Decem. 14. 1666.

SEEING I am to die after this manner, I lay before you this testimony, which I avow before God, and leave behind me to the world.

That which moved me to come along with these men, was their perswasion, and my desire to help them (which, with a safe conscience, I could not

well refuse) who, being tyrannically oppressed by the Prelates and their dependants and upholders, and seeing no other way was left to be taken, took up arms for their own defence; and if this be rebellion, I leave it to the great God the supreme Judge to discern: for in my weak judgment, I found it warrantable from the word of God, and without prejudice of the king's authority (whom I pray God to direct and guide in the right ways of the Lord, and to make him prosper therein, so that he may be surely set in his kingdom, having him whom no enemy can resist, to defend him) seeing there was nothing intended by us, against his, or any others, just and lawful authority.

But that which was my principal and chief design, was giving my poor assistance to the rooting out of Prelates and Prelacy, and all such as are come into God's vineyard without the Master's commission, these hirelings who came not in at the true door, *Jesus Christ*, but have climbed up some other way, as thieves and robbers, whose voice the sheep know not, (all which is too sadly confirmed by the dreadful and horrid sins that are risen in the land, and the curses and plagues that have followed thereupon) that so by taking away these, the abuses which proceed from them, and the sad consequences which follow their standing or falling with them, the covenant of God might be re-established, and true pastors that were silenced, might be set at liberty, their mouths opened, and they themselves put to the keeping of their flocks, and all other such persons, who were banished, or any other way under suffering, relieved.

And I do adhere to the way of church-government sworn to in the Covenant, which I think and assert to be conform to God's word; which, with his Spirit directing, is the only pattern and
judge

judge in all controversies: and however our endeavours at this time have not been successful, it is of the Lord, who will come in his own time, for he can do as well with a few as with many; but it is like, the cup of the adversaries is not full: And who knoweth, but the Lord God of hosts will hiss for the bee of *Egypt*, and the fly of *Assyria*, who will be more cruel and blood-thirsty than we were, to avenge the quarrel of his own people, and to make way for the establishing of his own cause. I say no more, but as I was willing to hazard my life for this cause, so I am ready to lay it down at my Master's feet, seeing he calls for it: And I pray the Almighty, to send his Spirit of consolation promised by his Son to his own people, to strengthen them and bear them through, till the appointed time of the Lord's coming with deliverance: for he will come for his own cause, and for his people's sake, and will not tarry.

A true RELATION of the
SUFFERINGS and DEATH of
Mr. *HEW M'KAIL*,
Preacher of the Gospel.

MR *Hew M'Kail* having passed, and improved the virtuous means of his education (at the university of *Edinburgh*, and with his uncle Mr. *Hew M'Kail*, minister there, in whose family he did reside) to the satisfaction and good hope of all, in the Winter 1661, upon the very turn of this sad catastrophe, offers himself to trial (being twenty years old) before the presbytery of *Edinburgh*, in order to the work of the ministry; and being by them amply approved and licensed, and having

preached at several times, with the great benefit and applause of all his hearers, he did preach his last public sermon in *Edinburgh*, in the *great church* thereof, upon the sabbath immediately preceeding that 8th of *September* 1662, the day affixed by the then parliament, for the removal of the ministers of *Edinburgh*.

His text was *Song* i. 7. In this sermon, taking occasion to speak of the great and many persecutions, which the church of God hath been and is obnoxious; and amplifying the point from the persons and powers who have been instrumental therein, he said, *That the church and people of God had been persecuted, both by a Pharaoh upon the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the church*; and falling to enlarge upon the several ways and manner of the persecutions of these men, and the issue thereof; the cases of *Haman* and *Judas* appeared in the conviction of his adversaries, to have such a near resemblance to the state and condition of the then rulers of state and church, that though he did make no application, yet he was reputed to be guilty thereof.

Whereupon, within a few days thereof, there was a party of horsemen sent to the place where he then lived, near to *Edinburgh*, for to seize his person and make him prisoner. But upon almost no more than a moments advertisement, he escapes out of his bed, and shifting only to another chamber, was miraculously preserved from the search then used, though most diligent and accurate. For this cause, he being necessitated to leave that place, retired home-ward to his father's house, where having lurked awhile, and thereafter, as occasions called him, spent the four years that have intervened, in several places, and with much uncertainty. Yet during all this space, to the certain knowledge and sweet remembrance of all that conversed with him,
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he was most seriously exercised in the study of piety and true knowledge; wherein, as he greatly advanced above all his equals, so at length he became most eminent and exemplary.

While he is thus living and employed at his father's house, the late troubles arising in the *West* fall out; and the news thereof having alarmed him with the rest of that country, upon the 18th of *November* last, being the sabbath, upon such motives, and upon such considerations as he himself doth fully afterward declare, he joined himself to those who rose in these parts, for the assisting of that poor afflicted party, as in their consciences, by their covenant, they thought themselves indispensibly obliged.

When and where he joined with them, or what was his part, or endeavours amongst them, needs not to be remembred. Only this is certain, that being of a thin body, and tender constitution, he was so disabled and weakned with the toil and fatigue of continual marching and tempestuous weather (particularly at *Ayr*, where he lay a considerable time, as if he had been dead, by reason of fainting) that he could no longer endure it. Whereupon, on *Tuesday November 27.* he was necessitated to part from them in the morning, near to the new bridge upon *Cramond* water: and in his way towards *Libberton* parish, about twelve of the clock passing thro' *Brede's-craigs*, he was taken, without resistance, having only a small ordinary sword, by such of the countrymen, as were then sent out to view the fields; in which passage it is very observable, that his escape was not more miraculous, than his present taking was fatal; for it is without question, had he but retained and observed the least of that advertency and caution, wherein at other times he was known to be both ready and very happy, he might, without either hazard or trouble, have escaped

escaped this inconvenience; but God who gave him the full experience of his turning all things unto the good of them that love him, did thus by his simplicity and folly, prepare the way for his own glory, and his servants joy and victory.

Being brought to *Edinburgh*, and first to the town's council-house, in their search for letters he was immediately stript; and there being none found, committed prisoner to the tolbooth.

Upon the Wednesday, being the 28th of *November*, by order from the secret council, he was brought before the Earl of *Dumfries*, Lord *Sinclair*, Sir *Robert Murray* of *Priestfield*, and others, in order to his examination; and being interrogate concerning his joining and being with the *Westland* forces, he conceived himself not obliged by any law of reason, to be his own accuser, to the destruction of his life, did plainly deny the question; but being desired to sign with his hand what he had said, and they caused write, though at first he appeared willing, yet partly being advised by the Lord *Sinclair*, to beware that he subscribed nothing, whereof the contrary would be found true, lest it might therefore fare the worse with him, and partly scrupling at the terms of *rebels* and *rebellion*, wherein the question and his answer were conceived, and partly bethinking that a simple denial may import more than the pleading of *not guilty*, he refused to subscribe his name, which being reported to the council, gave great offence, and brought him under the suspicion of a deep dissembler.

On *Thursday November 29.* being again called before his examiners, upon the considerations mentioned, and for allaying the council's prejudice, and preventing the inconvenience he might there-through sustain, he gives in a declaration under his own hand, testifying, that he had been with the

West-

Westland forces, with whom he occasionlly met, and that he resolved to have withdrawn from them upon the first opportunity, which he was also about to do, when he was taken, without either offering to flee or resist, which he desired the council the rather to believe, because he had told so much to *William Lawry of Blackwood*, a person employed from the *Lieut. general Dalziel* to the *Westland* forces. But notwithstanding that *William Lawry* did testify this to be a truth, yet the council retaining former impressions, and apprehending that the presence and confronting of some other prisoners of the *Westland* forces (who plainly declared their accession to that rising) and their deponing concerning him, did only move Mr. *Hew* to this acknowledgment, although it be certainly known, that he had formed and subscribed the same the night before, they fortify and persist in their jealousy, and suspecting him to have been a contriver of the insurrection, and privy to all designs and intelligence relating to it, they dealt with him with great importunity to be ingenious, and to declare who were the ring-leaders of the late rising, and what correspondence, either at home or abroad, was kept about it: And this was done especially upon the *Monday Decem. 3.* at which time also the *boots* (a terrible instrument of torture, which the humanity of our latter times hath so much abhorred, that not only the fashion of them was forgot, but all torture for their cause, disused; yet new ones, such as they are) were laid before him, upon the town council-house table, and he certified, that if he would not confess, he should be tortured by them to-morrow. And accordingly upon *Tuesday December 4.* he was again called before the council, where, after the examination and torture of *John Neilson of Corsack*, he was again examined by the Earl of *Rothes*, the king's

king's commissioner, the Marquis of *Montrose*, and several of the privy council (in the town council-house) the bishop of *St. Andrews*, for the honour of his profession forsooth, and some others of the counsellors, upon more real and Christian motives, having at first withdrawn themselves: and being urged to confess, he declared, with a solemn attestation, that he knew no more than he had already confessed, whereupon they ordered the executioner to put his leg into the *boot*, and to proceed to the torture. But as he had before confessed and declared ingeniously all he knew, so this torture (though in itself very violent and painful, by the extraordinary compression both of flesh, sinews and bones, by the force of timber wedges and hammer, and used upon him in a double measure, even to ten or eleven strokes, with considerable intervals; as there remained no truth concealed which it could extort) did not in the least move him to express impatience or bitterness, but having sustained it most constantly and Christianly, before he got the last three strokes, he protested solemnly in the sight of God, that he could say no more, though all the joints of his body were in as great torture as that poor leg, and desires to know what could hinder them to believe one of his profession, who had so solemnly declared, as in the sight of God, that he knew no more than he had told, *viz.* That to the best of his knowledge, the rising in the *West* was merely occasional, upon a discontent betwixt the people in the stewarty of *Galloway* and Sir *James Turner*, to which every one did run, as their hearts moved them, when they heard of it.

This torture was the cause why he was not indicted with the first ten, who being arraigned and sentenced on *Wednesday Dec. 5.* were hanged on the *Friday* thereafter, at the cross of *Edinburgh*. Many thought

thought that considering his small accession unto that rising, which neither was, nor could be proven to be more than what he himself had freely confessed, and that he had suffered such hard measure by torture, and that not in order to the discovery of his own crime, but the declaring of the contrivers and his complices, that the same should have procured him favour, but the matter was otherwise determined: Neither was the sermon before-mentioned, so quite forgotten, though ill remembred, and often repeated in the council in these words, *Ahab upon the throne*, and no more. And therefore,

Upon *Monday* the 10th of *December*, he and other seven received their indictments of treason, and were accordingly summoned to appear before the *Justices* on *Wednesday* *December* 12th. But his torture and close imprisonment thereafter (for so it was ordered) having cast him in a fever whereby he was utterly disenabled to make his appearance,

Upon *Tuesday* *December* 11th, he gave in to the Lords of council his supplication of the tenor following, viz. *That whereas I have received an indictment of treason, which was yesterday delivered to me, and I appointed to make answer thereto to-morrow, and seeing in this matter of highest importance, not only all the time allowed is very short, but I am and have been ever since my torture in a great distemper and fever, besides the great pain and utter inability of my leg, which hath constantly kept me bed-fast, and doth render me incapable not only of minding my own defence, but wholly unable either to walk or stand, far less to go and compear before the lord justice, as I doubt not but physicians will testify, if your lordships will order them to visit me, which I humbly beg; and seeing my accession to the crimes libelled is so very slender, being only simple presence, and that not only occasional, as I did declare before your lordships but also in some*
sort

sort retracted and purged, by my purposed and actual off-coming and deserting; and lastly, seeing I was put to sore torture, in order to a further discovery, with a promise of favour, in case of my ingenuity, which I then singly used, as in the sight of God, to the utmost of my knowledge: may it therefore please your Lordships, graciously to consider the premises, especially my utter inability to make my appearance, and to surcease any legal procedure against me; in this so weak and extreme condition, and to discharge me of the foresaid citation and appearance: and your lordship's answer.

This petition, and the following, are therefore set down *verbatim*, that both the utmost of his condescendence may appear, and the fainting that he so much regrets in his last speech, be the better understood. And with the same subscribed by him, there was given in, an attestation under the hands of seven chirurgeons, declaring his weak and sickly condition

Hereupon the council did order two physicians, and two chirurgeons (*viz.* Sir Robert Cunningham, Doctor Hay, James Borthwick and Thomas Kinhead) to visit him, and to return their attestation upon soul and conscience, betwixt and the morrow at ten of the clock, to the justices.

Upon Wednesday December 12th, the justices being set, the attestation of the two doctors and chirurgeons above-mentioned, is produced for Mr. Hew M'Kail, and other three of the prisoners, indicted, and their excuse proponed thereupon. But the justices finding, that the attestation, not bearing soul and conscience did not agree to the warrant and order given by the council, and that the Physicians being called, did refuse upon point of privilege to rectify it in these terms, although they declared, that the truth thereof was such, as they might safely confirm it by oath, they do only
super-

superfede their procedure against Mr. *Hew*, and other two contained in the attestation, until to-morrow, and ordain *John Neilson* of *Corsack*, tho' also contained in the attestation, in respect the same as to his part, was not relevant; and the other four, to be brought to the bar, who accordingly being brought, were that day sentenced to be hanged on *Friday* thereafter.

Thursday *December* 13th, the justice-court being set, adjourns until *Tuesday* thereafter, and ordains Mr. *Hew*, and the other two, to be peremptorily sifted that day before the down-sitting of the court. This afternoon, having obtained his reprimand, in the thoughts of his dubious condition, he composed the lines following.

Vita ergo innumeris curarum erroribus acta,

Clausula consimilis perbreve finit iter.

Distrabor ambigui dubio discrimine fati :

Aeger enim jaceo; sin revalesco, cado.

Therefore a suitable end finishes the short course of my life, which has been led through innumerable mazes of perplexing cares. I am racked with thought upon the doubtful event of my uncertain fate: for, at present I lie oppressed with sickness; but, if I recover my health, I must surely die.

Saturday *Decem.* 8th, his brother Mr. *Matthew* goes from *Edinburgh* to *Glasgow*, with a letter from the Lady *Marchioness* of *Douglas*, and another from the *Duchess* of *Hamilton* to the Lord Commissioner, in his favours, but both proved ineffectual.

Likeas, his cousin Mr. *Matthew M'Kail* carried another letter from the Lady *Marchioness* of *Douglas* to the archbishop of *St. Andrews* for the same purpose, but with no better success.

December 18th, sitting in judgment, the Lord
Renton

Renton Justice Clerk, and Mr. William Murray Advocate, Justice Depute.

Mr. *Hew* being indifferently recovered, he was brought before the justice with other three, that were arraigned with him. And first the general indictment is read, founded both on old and late acts of parliaments, made against rising and assembling in arms, and entering into leagues and covenants, and renewing the Solemn League and Covenant, without or against the king's authority, declaring the same to be rebellion and treason; and thereafter amply subsuming upon all the acts, deeds, and passages of the late insurrection with many aggravations; particularly upon their taking and renewing the Solemn League and Covenant at *Lanerk*; and therefore charging them with, and concluding, that they ought to be punished for the same as traitors. After which Mr. *Hew* his special indictment is read, bearing, that he had risen and joined with the *rebels*, and was with them at *Ayr*, *Ochiltry* and *Lanerk*, and several other places on horseback, and had kept and was at several of their rendezvous with a sword. Whereunto Mr. *Hew* being permitted to answer, began his discourse very constantly and composedly, declaring, That he looked upon himself, both from the conclusion of his indictment, and what had happened to others, as a man appointed by men, and determined in himself to die, whereupon he thought himself obliged to use the greater ingenuity, and then affirmed, that he was not ashamed to avow that he was one of that afflicted and persecuted party and persuasion called *Presbyterian*. Thereafter he proceeded to speak of the ties and engagements that were upon the land to God, in order thereto, and having commended the institution, dignity and blessing of Presbyterian government, he said that the last words of the National Covenant had

had always great weight upon his spirit. Whereupon the king's *advocate*, interrupting him, desired him to forbear that discourse, telling him, that he was not there called in question for his persuasion, but for the crime of rebellion, in rising in arms against his majesty's authority, to which he desired him to answer; whereunto he answered, that the thing which moved him to declare himself as he had, and would have done, was that weighty and important saying of our Lord Jesus, *Whosoever shall confess me before men; him shall the Son of Man also confess before the angels of God; but he that denieth me and my words before men, shall be denied before the angels of God.* As for the rebellion he was charged with, he said, his accession was only *simple presence* with a sword, and that occasional, as his confession before the council did bear. The *advocate* answers, that not only presence, such as he was charged with, was treasonable, but all intercommuning or keeping company with *rebels*, tho' for the space only of one half hour; and however, he said, he was guilty of a far deeper accession, and of many other things besides these contained in his own confession; whereupon the *advocate* caused read his confession, and also the depositions of several others that were examined, in so far as they concerned him. Mr. *Hew* answered, that all the depositions read, contained no more than was in his own confession, nor could they make out any more against him; and so in effect it was.

The *advocate* after the sustaining of the indictment, having made use of, and caused read the confessions of Mr. *Hew*, and the other persons accused before the *assize*, in place of probation, referred the matter to their cognition.

The *assize* being enclosed gave their verdict *unavoice*, and by the mouth of Sir William Murray of

Newtown their chancellor, report him to be guilty of being with the *rebels* at several times and places, and at their rendezvous with a sword, according to his subscribed confession. However, it was thereafter understood, that four or five of the *assize*, did with reluctance pronounce this verdict, thinking death too great a punishment for so slender a guilt, and that the major part of the *assize* had cleansed him, if the fear of an *assize* of *error* had not prevailed with them.

The verdict being reported, doom was pronounced, decerning and adjudging him, and the rest, to be taken on *Saturday December 22.* to the mercat cross of *Edinburgh*, and there to be hanged on a gibbet till they be dead, and that their goods and lands be escheated and forfeited for his highness's use. At the hearing of which sentence, he cheerfully said, *The Lord giveth life, and the Lord taketh, blessed be the name of the Lord.* And as he was carried back through the guards to the tolbooth, when the people made lamentation, he answered, *Though men cut us off, God will receive us; trust in God, trust in God.*

Being come to his chamber, he immediately addressed himself to God by prayer, with great enlargement of heart for himself and his fellow-prisoners condemned with him. Being afterwards asked how his leg was, which was tortured; he answered merrily, 'The fear of my neck now maketh me forget my leg.' Thereafter he said to another friend, 'O how good news, to be within four days journey to enjoy the sight of Jesus Christ,' and protested, 'He was not so cumbered how to die, as he had been sometime to preach a sermon.' To some women lamenting for him, he said, 'That his condition, though he was young, and in the budding of his hopes and labours in the ministry, yet it

' was

'was not to be mourned for; for, said he, one drop of my blood, through the grace of God, may make moe hearts contrite, than many years sermons might have done.'

This afternoon he supplicate the council for liberty to his Father to come and visit him, which being granted, his Father the next night came to him, Their first meeting was very sad; and notwithstanding, that according both to the testimony of his parents, and knowledge of all his relations, he was a most obedient son, yet these inevitable infirmities which are incident to the best of men, and cannot but furnish sad convictions, when considered in the power and pure light of the spiritual law of God, did greatly trouble him in the remembrance of the fifth commandment. The passage was this. After prayer his Father said unto him, *Hugo, I called thee a goodly olive tree of fair fruits, and now a storm hath destroyed the tree, and his fruits and branches.* He answered, *That his father's too good thoughts of him had afflicted him.* His Father said, he was persuaded God was visiting not his own sin, but his parents sin upon him, so that he might say, *Our fathers have sinned, and we have born their iniquity.* He said also, *I have sinned, thou poor sheep what hast thou done.* Mr. Hew answered with many groans, 'That thro' coming short of keeping the fifth commandment, he had come short of the promise, *that his days should be prolonged in the land of the living,* and that God's controversy with him, was for overvaluing his children, especially himself.'

On Thursday the 20th of December, more from the importunity of friends, than of his own inclination, he gave in to the Privy Council, a petition as follows;

That whereas upon Tuesday last I was indicted and condemned, for the treasonable deeds contained in the

general and special indictment exhibited against me; in the which special indictment, containing my whole accession to the said crimes, there is only libelled presence in several places, with an ordinary sword; likewise, my own confession, which is the naked truth, doth declare, how the same was occasional; and seeing that it was also in some sort purged and retracted, by my withdrawing, and deserting with the first conveniency, whereby not only my case appears to be different from that of others, but also as favourable as possibly can be, next to innocency itself; likeas, the same appeared no less to many of these gentlemen who were upon my assize. And seeing the torture I sustained, and the ingenuity I then used, as in the sight of God, to the utmost of my knowledge, deserve that favour that was at that time insinuated; and that it is expected that his majesty (whose mercy I beg) according to his great clemency, and the most usual practice in the like cases, will interpose his mercy, for the rescue of many, who are equally with me involved. May it therefore please your lordships graciously to consider the premises, and to pardon my great rashness and precipitancy, and therefore to indulge such a reprimand as your lordships shall think convenient, until his majesty's gracious pleasure anent the premises shall be fully known; at least till the commissioner his grace, do return: And your lordships answer. The words marked in this petition by a different character, were the amendments of his friends affection, which they were advised to put in by some members of the privy council, to whom the copy of it had been presented, immediately before the down-sitting of the council; and thereupon the petition being transcribed, was in so great haste presented unto him, to subscribe it, that he got it not read. However, the petition was both disrelished and refused by the council: The truth is, some of his friends, exceeding

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ing zealous of his safety, had moved to several members of the *council*, that the *Declaration* might be tendered to him, and some time permitted him to advise thereanent; which motion, 'tis like, was attended with some insinuations, that probably he might be induced to subscribe it; but as the motion was ineffectual without a warrant under his own hand, so even the authors thereof do bear him witness of his positive, fixed and often declared resolution, not to subscribe it at the highest rate: Likewise, upon some surmises to the contrary, he thought it necessary, for his own vindication, to leave it under his hand, that the above-mentioned resolution was from his own proper knowledge and motive, without the assistance of the least dissuasive from any other person.

During his abode in prison, the Lord was very graciously present with him, both to sustain him against the fear of death, and to dispel all these overcloudings of terror, unto which the frailty of flesh and blood hath sometimes exposed the best of men; and also in assisting him in prayer and praises, to the admiration of all his hearers, especially on the *Thursday's* night *Dec. 20.* whereon being set at supper with his fellow-prisoners and his father, and one or two besides, he requested his fellow-prisoners, saying merrily, *Eat to the full, and cherish your bodies, that we may all be a fat Christmas pie to the Prelates.* After supper in thanksgiving, he burst forth in blessing God, that had made him such a fool as to come to that prison; and after many gracious words, continued saying, 'Many crosses have come in our way, and wrought but weakly upon us, but here is a cross that hath done more good than all the many that beset us before.' Then lamenting the condition of the church of God, with much earnestness, he used that exclamation in the

last of *Daniel*, *What, Lord, shall be the end of these wonders!*

The last night of his life, being *Friday December 21.* he proponed and answered himself several questions, to the strengthening of his fellow-prisoners, and great refreshing of all his hearers. As, 1. he inquired, 'How should he, going from the tolbooth through a multitude of gazing people and guards of soldiers, to a scaffold and gibbet, overcome the impression of all these?' To which he answered, 'By conceiving a deeper impression of a multitude of angels, who are also on-lookers; according to that, *We are a gazing-stock to the world, angels, and men*: for the angels rejoicing at our good confession, are present to convey and carry our souls, as the soul of *Lazarus*, unto *Abraham's* bosom; not to receive them, for that is *Jesus Christ's* work alone, who will welcome them to heaven himself, with the songs of angels and blessed spirits; but the angels are ministring spirits, always ready to serve and strengthen all dying believers. 2. As *Stephen* saw the heavens opened, and *Jesus* standing on the right-hand of God, who then said, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit*; so, said he, do I believe that *Jesus Christ* is also ready to receive the souls of his dying sufferers.

2. He enquired, 'What is the way for us to conceive of heaven, who are hastling unto it, seeing the word faith, *Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him*?' Whereunto he answered, 'That the scripture helps us two ways to conceive of heaven. The first is by way of similitudes, as in *Rev. xxi.* where heaven is held forth, by the representation of a glorious city, there described; but, in the same place, it is also termed the *Bride*; but O! how

‘ how unlike are these two, a bride and a city !
‘ which doth clearly evidence the insufficiency and
‘ vast disproportion of all such similitudes ; and
‘ therefore, he addeth, the scripture furnishes yet
‘ a more excellent way to conceive of heaven ; and
‘ that is, 1. By conceiving the love of Christ to us,
‘ even what is the breadth, and length, and depth,
‘ and height, and the immenseness of that love of
‘ Christ, which passeth knowledge, which is also
‘ the highest and sweetest motive of praise ; *Unto*
‘ *him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in*
‘ *his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests*
‘ *unto God, and his Father, to him, be glory and do-*
‘ *minion for ever and ever, Amen.* 2. By holding
‘ forth the love of the saints to Jesus Christ, and
‘ teaching of us to love him in sincerity, which is
‘ the very joy and exultation of heaven, *Rev. v. 12.*
‘ *Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive pow-*
‘ *er, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and ho-*
‘ *nour, and glory, and blessing.* And no other thing
‘ than the soul breathing forth love to Jesus Christ,
‘ can rightly apprehend the joys of heaven.

The last words which he spoke at supper, were
in the commendation of *love* above *knowledge*, say-
ing, ‘ O but notions of knowledge without love, are
‘ of small worth, evanishing in nothing, and very
‘ dangerous.’ After supper, his father having giv-
en thanks, he read the xvi. Psalm, and his first
words thereafter were, ‘ If there were any thing in
‘ this world sadly and unwillingly to be left, it
‘ were the reading of the scriptures. *I said, I shall*
‘ *not see the Lord, even the Lord, in the land of the*
‘ *living,* but this needs not make us sad ; for where
‘ we go, the Lamb is the book of scripture, and the
‘ light of that city, and there is life, even the river
‘ of the water of life, and living springs.’ To this
he added many excellent observations, and making

mention of the 23d verse of the xxxi. Psal. *O love the Lord, all ye his saints*, added, 'That where love was, it was so operative, that it made flesh spirit, and where it was not, there spirit was made flesh:' thereafter he sung a part of the same Psalm.

Supper being ended, he calls smilingly for a pen, saying, 'it was to write his testament,' wherein he only ordered some few books, which he had, to be re-delivered to several persons.

He went to bed a little after eleven of the clock, and having slept well till five in the morning, he arose and called to his comrade *John Wodrow*, saying pleasantly, 'Up *John*, for you are too long in bed; you and I look not like men going this day to be hanged, seeing we lie so long.' Thereafter he said to him in the words of *Isaiah*, chap. xlii. ver. 24. 'Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robbers? Did not the Lord, he against whom we have sinned, for they would not walk in his ways, neither were they obedient unto his law, &c. And I think, *John*, said he, I have not known, nor do I lay it to heart, as it is said in the end of the 25th verse. But, *John*, said he, for all this be not afraid, but read the xliii. chap. ver. 1. 2. for all will go well with us.' *John* said to him, 'You and I will be chambered shortly in heaven, beside Mr. *Robertson*.' He answered, 'I fear, *John*, you bar me out, because you was more free before the council than I was; but I shall be as free as any of you upon the scaffold.' Before breakfast, he said, 'he had got a clear ray of the majesty of the Lord after his awaking, but it was a little again over-clouded.' Thereafter he prayed, and attested the Lord, 'that he had devoted himself to the service of God in the ministry of the Lord Jesus, and the edification of souls, very early; adding, 'Albeit I have not been so with my God, yet thou
' hast

'hast made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure; this is all my desire, joy and salvation, albeit thou make me not a house to grow. Now, Lord, we come to thy throne, a place we have not been acquainted with; earthly king's thrones have advocates against poor men, but thy throne hath Jesus, an advocate for us. Our supplication this day, is not to be free of death, nor of pain in death, but that we may witness before many witnesses, a good confession.

His father coming to him that morning to bid him farewell, his last words to him were, after prayer and a little discourse, *'that his suffering would do more hurt to the Prelates, and be more edifying to the Lord's people, than if he were to continue in the ministry for twenty years.'* And then he desired his father to leave him, else he would but trouble him, *'And I desire it of you, said he, as the best and last service you can do me, to go to your chamber, and pray earnestly to the Lord to be with me on that scaffold; for how to carry there is my care, even that I may be strengthened to endure to the end.'*

About two of the clock in the afternoon, he was carried to the scaffold, with other five that suffered with him; where he appeared, to the conviction of all that formerly knew him, with a fairer, better and more stayed countenance than ever they had before observed. Being come to the foot of the ladder, he directed his speech northward to the multitude. And premising, *'That as his years in the world had been but few, so his words at that time should not be many.'* He spoke to the people, the speech and testimony which he had before written and subscribed.

Having done speaking to the people, who heard him with great attention, he sung a part of the xxxi.

Psalme

Pſalm, and then prayed with ſuch power and fervency, as forced many to weep bitterly. Having ended, he gave his cloak and hat from him; and when he turned himſelf, and took hold of the ladder, to go up, he ſaid with an audible voice, ‘I care no more to go up this ladder, and over it, than if I were going home to my father’s houſe.’ And as he went up, hearing a great noiſe amongſt the people, he called down to his fellow-ſufferers, ſaying, ‘Friends and fellow-ſufferers, be not afraid, every ſtep of this ladder is a degree nearer heaven. Then having ſeated himſelf thereon, he ſaid, ‘I do partly believe, that the nobles, counſellors, and rulers of the land, would have uſed ſome mitigation of this puniſhment, had they not been inſtigated by the Prelates; ſo our blood lies principally at the Prelates door. But this is my comfort now, that *I know my Redeemer liveth, and that he ſhall ſtand at the latter day upon the earth, and though after my ſkin, worms deſtroy this body, yet in my fleſh ſhall I ſee God, whom I ſhall ſee for myſelf, and mine eyes ſhall behold* (pointing to his eyes) *and not another, though my reins be conſumed in me.* And now I do willingly lay down my life for the truth and cauſe of God, the covenant and work of reformation, which were once counted the glory of this nation. And it is for endeavouring to defend this, and to extirpate that bitter root of Prelacy, that I embrace this rope (the executioner putting the rope about his neck) Then hearing the people weep, he ſaid, ‘Your work is not to weep, but to pray that we may be honourably born through; and bleſſed be the Lord, that ſupports me. Now as I have been beholden to the prayers and kindneſs of many ſince my imprisonment and ſentence, ſo I hope you will not be wanting to me now, in this laſt ſtep of my journey,
‘that

‘that I may witness a good confession: And that
‘you may know the ground of my encouragement
‘in this work, and what my hope is, I will read to
‘you the last chapter of the Bible:’ And having
read it, he said, ‘Here you see the glory that is to
‘be revealed upon me, *a pure river of water of life,*
‘and so forth (read the place) *where the throne of*
‘*God is, and the Lamb is in it, where his servants*
‘*serve him and see his face, and his name is in their*
‘*foreheads, and the Lord God giveth them light, and*
‘*they shall reign for ever and ever;* and here you
‘see my access to my glory and reward. *Let him*
‘*that is athirst come, and whosoever will, let him*
‘*take of the water of life freely.* And here you see
‘also my welcome, *The Spirit and the bride say,*
‘*Come.*’ Then he said, ‘I have one word more to
‘say to my friends (looking down to the scaffold)
‘Where are you? You need neither lament me nor
‘be ashamed of me in this condition, for I may
‘make use of that expression of Christ, *I go to your*
‘*Father and my Father, to your God and my God, to*
‘*your King and my King, to the blessed apostles and*
‘*martyrs, and to the city of the living God, the heaven-*
‘*ly Jerusalem, to an innumerable company of angels,*
‘*to the general assembly and church of the first-born,*
‘*and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just*
‘*men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the*
‘*new covenant;* and so I bid you all farewell: for
‘God will be more comfortable to you than I could
‘be; and he will also now be more refreshing to me,
‘than you can be: Farewel, farewell in the Lord.’
Then the napkin being put on his face, he prayed a
space within himself, after which he put up the cloath
from his face, with his own hand, and said, he had
one word more to say, and that was to shew them the
comfort he had in his death, saying, ‘I hope you
‘perceived no alteration or discouragement in my
‘coun-

' countenance and carriage, and as it may be your
 ' wonder, so I profess it is a wonder to myself, and
 ' I will tell you the reason of it: Besides the just-
 ' ness of my cause, this is my comfort, which was said
 ' of *Lazarus* when he died, that *the angels did car-*
 ' *ry his soul into Abraham's bosom*; so, that as there
 ' is a great solemnity here, of a confluence of peo-
 ' ple, a scaffold, a gallows, and people looking out
 ' of windows; so is there a greater and more solemn
 ' preparation in heaven of angels to carry my soul
 ' to Christ's bosom. Again, this is my comfort that
 ' it is to come in Christ's hands, and he will pre-
 ' sent it blameless and faultless to the Father, and
 ' *then shall I be ever with the Lord*. And now I
 ' leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn
 ' my speech to thee, O Lord! and now I begin my
 ' intercourse with God, which shall never be brok-
 ' en off. Farewel father and mother, friends and re-
 ' lations; Farewel the world and all delights; Fare-
 ' wel meat and drink; Farewel sun, moon and stars.
 ' Welcome God and Father; Welcome sweet Lord
 ' Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant; Wel-
 ' come blessed Spirit of grace, and God of all con-
 ' solation; Welcome glory; Welcome eternal life;
 ' Welcome death.' Then he desired the executioner
 not to turn him over, until he should put over his
 own shoulders himself, which, after praying a little
 within himself, he did, saying, '*O Lord, into thy*
 '*hands I commit my spirit: for thou hast redeemed my*
 '*soul, Lord God of truth*.' Thus in the 26th year
 of his age, he died, as he lived, in the Lord.

The last SPEECH and TESTIMONY of

Mr. *H E W M ' K A I L*,Preacher of the Gospel, and Probationer for the Ministry, at his death in *Edinburgh, Dec. 22. 1666.*

BEING, by a great surprisal of providence, thus staged before the world, in a matter of so universal concernment to all that fear God, and desire to be stedfast in his covenant, I could not forbear to leave behind me this standing testimony, concerning the occasion and uses thereof, for the glory of God, and the vindication of my profession from the aspersions cast thereon by men, and the edification of these by my death, to whom I had devoted my life in the work of the ministry.

I have esteemed the government of this church by *Presbytery*, to be among the chief of the ordinances of Jesus Christ, which by his blood he has purchased, and ascended up on high to bestow as a gift upon it; as being the very gospel-ministry in its simplicity and purity from the inventions of men, and so the mean by which other ordinances are administred, and the most fundamental truths made effectual in the hearts of his people, and therefore that it ought with that same carefulness to be contented for. Experience both of the having and wanting of it, hath given it this epistle of commendation, so as it may be both known and read of all men: which is also true of the solemn engagements of the nation thereto, by the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, which I have esteemed in their rise and renewing, pregnant performances of that promise, *Isa. xlv. 5.* where it is evident, that where church reformatiions come to any maturity, they arrive at this degree of saying,

ing, *I am the Lord's*; and subscribing with the hand unto the Lord. So was it in the days of the reforming king's of *Judah*, and after the restauration from the captivity in the days of *Nehemiah*. This same promise did the Lord Jesus make *yea* and *amen* to us when he redeemed us from spiritual *Babylon*, which is so much the greater evidence, that these were the very motions of God's Spirit in our first reformers, that they were expressly designed against the greatest motions of the spirit of darkness in Antichrist and his supporters, and against the greatest confirmations that ever these abominations attained by the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and that bloody bond called the *Holy League*. And therefore whatever indignity is done unto these covenants, I do esteem to be no less than doing despite unto the Spirit of grace in his most eminent exerting of himself, but especially *declaring* against the same as flowing from a spirit of sedition and rebellion, to be a sin of the same nature with their's, who ascribed Christ his casting out of devils to *Beelzebub*; and that with this aggravation, that these *Scribes* and *Pharisees* came never the length of professing Christ, and submitting themselves to him and his ways.

But we are condemned to death upon the account of this covenant, for adhering to the duties therein sworn to, by such as once did as much themselves as we have done, and some of them more than some of us: which considerations have moved me to great fears of God's wrath against the land, according to the curse that we are bound under, if we should break that covenant, and in the fear of it many times to pour out my soul before the Lord; and as soon as I heard of a party up in arms in behalf of the covenant; (all other doors being shut, whereby the redress of the manifest violations of it might be obtained; and these by manifest and unheard of

violence obtruded upon others) to go along with them, being bound by that covenant against detestable indifferency and neutrality in this matter, and to esteem every injury done to any, engaged in this covenant upon account of it, as done to myself: very conscience of duty urged me to this against some reluctance of fear of what might follow. Upon the same reasons at *Lanerk*, with the rest I declared my adherence to the covenant, by my lifting up of my hand, after the articles thereof were read.

And here I cannot but with grief of heart acknowledge my fainting in a day of trial, that being engaged with them upon such accounts, I many times in fear designed to withdraw, and at length did, which, as it was the occasion of my falling into the hands of the enemy, so I think among other things it was the cause why God delivered me into their hands. Upon the same fear, in all my examinations I have denied my engagement with them, and endeavoured to vindicate myself by asserting the real designs I had to part from them, and have utterly cast away the glory of a testimony, which my very being in their company, as a favourer of the ends of the covenant, and as one willing to contribute my best endeavours for the promoting of them, but especially my declaring for the covenant, did bear unto the truth and ordinances of Jesus Christ against this untoward generation: this I confess to be no less than a denying of Jesus Christ, and a being ashamed of his words before men; but I hope the Lord, who remembreth that we are but frail dust, will not lay it to my charge, and according to his faithfulness and grace will forgive me, who by this publick confession, take to myself shame and confusion of face, and fly to the propitiation offered to all sinners in Jesus Christ. And these things as they have procured this death unto me, as an act of God's justice; so they mind me of other evils in mine

mine own heart, that have been the source of this my unwillingness, to take on Christ's cross: my heart hath not studied to maintain that spirituality in walking with God, and edifying exemplariness with others, that became one that had received the first fruits of the Spirit, and aimed at the ministry of the gospel, living in times of so much calamity for the church of God, and particular afflictions as to myself. If I had spent my days in groaning after my house from heaven, would I have shifted so fair occasion of being cloathed with it? Alas that I have loved my Lord and Master Jesus Christ so little! Alas that I have done so little service to him, that I have so little labour to follow me to my everlasting rest! This I speak to these especially; with whom I have familiarly conversed in my pilgrimage, that seeing the Lord will not grant me life to testify my real reformation of these things, my acknowledgment at death may have influence upon them, to study not only godliness but the power of it.

As I acknowledge that I have not been free and ingenuous in these particulars forementioned, so in other things, wherein I interponed that holy name of God, as to the not being upon the contrivance of this rising in arms, nor privy to any resolution thereanent, nor conscious of any intelligence at home or abroad concerning it, I was most ingenuous: and they have wronged me much, who said that I denied upon oath, that which they were able to make out against me, or knew to be truth; but none alledge perjury against me, but such as are so manifestly guilty of it before the world, that their tongues in such alledgances are no slander.

Although I be judged and condemned as a rebel amongst men, yet I hope, even in order to this action to be accepted as loyal before God. Nay, there can be no greater act of loyalty to the king,

as the times now go, than for every man to do his utmost for the extirpation of that abominable plant of Prelacy, which is the bane of the throne, and of the country: which if it be not done, the throne shall never be established in righteousness, until these wicked be removed from before it. Sure I am, these who are now condemned as rebels against him by them, are such as have spent much time in prayer for him, and do more sincerely wish his standing, and have endeavoured it more by this late action so much condemned, than the Prelates by condemning them to death.

This *disaster* hath heightened greatly the afflictions of our church, and ought to teach all of you to drink the wine of astonishment: ye have not known tribulation till now: Now we judge them happy that are fallen asleep, and removed far away, and know that God hath been taking away his servants from the evils that were to come. Know that God's design is, to make many hearts contrite, that have been formerly too whole, and have not lamented sufficiently the removal of his ordinances and ministry, and the reproach rubbed upon the work of reformation. Beware that your sorrow be not a momentary motion of common compassion, that vanisheth, when it may be, there is some intermission in this violent course of shedding innocent blood: but labour to have a constant impression that may sanctify the heart; nay, ye would live much in the apprehension of approaching judgment. Certainly the withdrawing of many from us, and not contributing their help to the great work they were engaged to, as well as we; the general rising against us in many places of the country; but, above all, this open shedding of the blood of the saints, which involveth the land in the guiltiness of all the righteous blood shed from the foundation of the world, have made *Scotland* fit fuel for the fire

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of

of God's wrath. I can say nothing concerning times to come, but this, *All things shall work together for good to them that love God*, and so this present dispensation. And they shall have most comfort in this promise, who are most willing that such afflictions as we are brought to, be the way that God chooseth to work their good.

Commit wholly the management of all matters to God, and make it your entire study, night and day, to keep your very garments clean: it is hard in times of so general corruptions not to be defiled one way or other; be free of the sins, as ye would be of the judgments, which will certainly be such as will make *all the churches know, that God is the searcher of the hearts, and trier of the reins*, Rev. ii. 23. and so will not be mocked by these pretences, whereby men colour their going along in an evil course, from the real love that they have to a present world. If naked presence amongst them who are esteemed rebels by men, be sufficient to engage them in the crime and punishment (for that is all the ground of my condemnation) shall not God be much more zealous of his own glory, against all who so much as seem to go along with this course of backsliding.

As a good mean and encouragement, to all the duties of our time, labour to be rooted and grounded in the love of Jesus Christ; this will be tender of any thing, that may have the least reflection upon him, his words or works, and will prompt the soul to zealous appearing for him at the greatest hazard, and to as much willingness to die for him, as to live that they may glorify him. And for the encouragement of you all in this matter, I do declare, that ever since the day of my coming into prison, God hath kepted my soul free from all amazement or fear of death; that since my indictment and sentence, God hath so manifested himself at several times, that he hath lifted up my soul above Prelates,

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principalities and powers, death and hell, to rejoice and be glad in his salvation; and from my soul to account him worthy, for whom, in this his cause, I should undergo the greatest shame or pain; and to the assured hopes of eternal communion with him in heaven: And that nothing hath more brangled my peace, than shifting an open and free testimony before my examiners, to the work that I was engaged in.

I do freely pardon all that have accession to my blood, and wish that it be not laid to the charge of this sinful land, but that God would grant repentance to our rulers, that they may obtain the same reconciliation with him, whereof I myself do partake. Truly, I believe many of them, if not instigated by the cruel Prelates (at whose door our blood doth principally ly) would have used more mitigation: but that reluctancy of mind to shed blood, will be so far from vindicating of them, that, upon the contrary, it will be a witness against them in the day of the Lord.

I heartily submit myself to death, as that which God hath appointed to all men because of sin, and to this particular way of it, as deserved by my particular sins. I praise God for this fatherly chastisement, whereby he hath made me in part, and will make me perfectly partaker of his holiness. I glorify him that called me forth to suffer for his name and ordinances, and the solemn engagements of the land to him, and that he hath taken this way to take me away from the evil to come. The Lord bless all his poor afflicted groaning people that are behind.

Hereafter I will not talk with flesh and blood, nor think on the world's consolations: Farewel all my friends, whose company hath been refreshful to me in my pilgrimage; I have done with the light of the sun and moon. Welcome eternal life, everlasting love, everlasting praise, everlasting glory. Praise

to him that sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever. Though I have not been so with thee as I ought to have been in the house of my pilgrimage, yet *thou hast made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure: And this is all my salvation, and all my desire.* Bless the Lord, O my soul! that hath pardoned all my iniquities in the blood of his Son, and healed all my diseases. *Bless him, O all ye his angels that excel in strength, ye ministers that do his pleasure.* Bless the Lord, O my soul! Hallelujah.

Edinburgh Tolbooth,
Dec. 22. 1666.

Sic subscribitur,
HEW M'KAIL.

I Have heard that some of the prisoners are willing to save their lives by taking the *Declaration*, that is, by abjuring that work and cause, for which they adventured their lives: which if they do, our blood shall bear witness against them in the day of God. And God shall so punish some of them in this life, that they shall curse the day that ever they shifted to die on a scaffold.

HEW M'KAIL.

THE TESTIMONY OF

J O H N W O D R O W,

Merchant in *Glasgow*, who died in *Edinburgh*,
Decem. 22. 1666.

Dear Friends,

I Am condemned to die. I shall say little concerning men who have judged and condemned me, they are to answer to God for it; but I bless the Lord, who hath counted me worthy to die for so good and honourable a cause. And that I be not
mistaken

mistaken after I am gone hence, I have thought fit to testify, that in singleness and sincerity of heart, I came into the service, not constrained, but from conscience of my being engaged by covenant to God, and with a full purpose to perform my vows made in that covenant unto the Lord, in the strength of Jesus Christ; and that I might endeavour to restore again the precious ordinances to their former purity and power, and to recover the fair church in this land (which our blessed Lord hath purchased to himself, and bought at so dear a rate) to her former beauty, which is now defaced: and particularly to bring down that antichristian Prelacy, and that perjured crue of Prelates, who have so perfidiously wronged the interests of our blessed Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. This is the only cause for which I undertook this service, and joined with others my dear and covenanted brethren; and that I had no intention to wrong the king's person or authority, but to seek his real good, according to my duty in the word of God, and also as I sware in the same covenant wherein I did swear against Prelacy. And notwithstanding I be condemned of men as a *rebel*, yet I am justified of God, my God and Father, in and through my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who giveth me sweet peace of conscience and joy of heart: I grant it is not enough to justify me before him, that I had a just cause, unless likewise I had therewith the acceptation of my person through faith in the merits of Jesus Christ, who standeth in our nature in heaven, which I dare declare this day as a dying man, that I have obtained; for I am confident that through his righteousness made over unto me, he hath made me free, in which I shall stand for ever; and that within a few hours I shall see him in peace, as I am seen of him; and behold and wonder, and wonder and behold for evermore that

most glorious excellency of his. And this yieldeth to me great consolation in all my extremities, were they never so great, this, I say, is my peace and consolation this day, even Christ my righteousness, who hath both accepted my person and cause: therefore I count it a small thing to be judged and condemned of men, for my testimony is on high, and my record in heaven.

And now, *my friends*, I am condemned to die for adhering to my covenant made with God, for reformation of religion and conversation, to which all ranks of the land are bound as well as I, though many (alas! too many) shaking off all fear of God, have despised the oath, not only by breaking the covenant, but by professing and declaring avowedly the bond thereof null, and not binding, either to their own or other mens consciences: and this mischief is framed by a law, which doth greatly heighten the sin; *O! tell it not in Gath, and publish it not in Askelon.* Oh! that this should be heard of amongst Papists and Pagans, that professed reformed Protestants should stand in so little aw of a solemn oath, and name of the great and living God.

But I exhort and obtest you all, that so much the more as others have made void his covenant, you would esteem it the more precious, and closely follow the reformation vowed, in every article thereof, upon all occasions given you of the Lord; and that you abhor, detest and refuse any engagement whatsoever, that may wrong your oath in the covenant directly or indirectly, as ye would escape the wrath of God that is coming on such breaking of covenant; but rather chuse the greatest extremity of affliction, than the least sin of this sort; as *Moses* did, who refused to be called the son of *Pharaoh's* daughter, but chused rather to suffer reproach for Christ: and be not afraid of suffering for Christ, as
though

though it were an evil thing, neither scar ye at his cross, for the Lord himself saith, *My yoke is easy, and my burden light*; yea, it is lighter to us, than to many that stand by: Believe it, faith maketh all burdens light to the believing sufferer.

And now I beseech you believers in Christ, abide in him, bring forth fruit unto holiness, and study tenderness in all manner of conversation, and holiness, *without which no man shall see the Lord*; and let not this profane and mocking generation have any thing to reproach you with, but that whereof you would not be ashamed, that when you suffer, ye may not suffer as evil doers, that whereas they speak evil of you, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ. It is not knowledge, nor a bare profession that glorifieth God, but tenderness, holiness and righteousness, that do commend religion and his cause to all men, and shall convince your adversaries of their wickedness in wronging you, and make them the more inexcusable in that day when they shall be judged: Yea, what know ye, but ye may win others by your tender and good conversation?

I recommend to you, that ye would be much and fervent in the use of that precious duty of prayer, wherein most near communion with God upon earth is to be found: Be much in prayer with and for others. Forsake not the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is, (I wish they may see the evil of it who neglect it) but exhort one another, and so much the more, as you see the day approaching: Earnestness and diligence will hasten the Lord's coming with relief unto you, and to the Lord's born down work; and your slackness in this, may make the wheels of his chariot to move the more slowly. For the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much with God; it will do

more than armies of men and weapons of war for your defence and deliverance.

I beseech you also, *my dear friends*, that you acquaint yourselves with the word of God in the holy scripture, that ye may have acquaintance with Jesus Christ, who is clearly set forth therein; that ye may know him in his excellency, and come to love and believe in him whom ye know; that ye may be acquainted with his revealed will therein, and may know what is true, and cleave fast thereto, from a sure persuasion that it hath the warrant of his word; and may be guarded against every error of the wicked, and that ye may fully know what is good and what is evil: And that ye may suffer with confidence, when ye are brought forth thereto as I am.

Finally, *my dear friends*, be ye perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

JOHN WODROW.

JOHN WODROW's *Letter to his Wife*, dated Decem. 22. 1666, which was the day on which he suffered.

My Heart,

Reverence the good providence of the Lord our God, who can do nothing wrong; for whatsoever he doth is well done, and my soul saith, *Amen*. I had not a will of my own, my heart, since that day wherein you and I parted, my Lord and my God captivated it, and brought it to a submission unto his will: I bless him for evermore for it; that I was never left to my own will: Praise, O praise him all ye living! and O thou my soul praise the Lord for it. I bless the Lord for evermore, that ever he visited my father's family, that ever he condescended to come unto my father's family, and to
give

give a visit to the like of me: he visited me there, and set his love upon me, and hath chosen me for this very end, to be a witness for his covenanted reformation. For this my soul is glad, and my glory rejoiceth for this honour, wherewith he hath honoured me; and that, though I be condemned to die by men on earth, yet am I justified of God through the blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ, who standeth in our nature in heaven, and hath made me free through his imputed righteousness, made over unto me, in which I stand for ever: And within a few hours I shall see him in peace, as I am seen of him, and behold and wonder, and wonder and behold for evermore, even that most glorious excellency which is in him. All that which is spoken of him is but little: O my heart, my dear love, come and see, I beseech you! I thought I had known something of my dearest Lord before, that I had some love from and to him before, but never was it so with me, as it hath been with me since I came within the doors of this prison; many a precious visit hath his gracious Majesty given unto me. He is without all comparison; O love, love him! O come to him, O taste and see, and that shall resolve the question best. The thing I suffer for is the covenanted reformation. I bless God, and all that is within me doth bless and magnify his holy name for this, that *Scotland* did ever enter into a covenant with the Lord, into a sworn covenant, with the hand lifted up to the Lord: And I have now sworn and renewed this covenant again for myself and you, and my four children in all the parts and points thereof; and I pray, God help you to abide in the covenant for ever.

And now I give you and my four children unto the Lord, and commit you to him as your covenanted God and Husband, and my childrens covenanted Father. I say no more, but either study to
be

be indeed a sincere Christian, and seeker of his face in sincerity, or else you will be nothing at all. I recommend you and your young ones to him who is God all-sufficient, and aboundeth in mercy and love to them, that love him, and keep his covenant. The blessing of the covenant be upon you, so fare you well. So saith,

Your loving and dying husband,

JOHN WODROW.

THE TESTIMONY OF

R A L P H S H I E L D S,

An Englishman, Who died in *Edinburgh, December*
22. 1666.

My Friends,

I Am come here to die, and I thank God, it is not for evil doing, that I now suffer: Altho' I be charged with rebellion against the king's authority, yet I declare before God and you all, that in all this matter, I never intended to wrong his majesty's just power and greatness, but for conscience sake, did respect authority as the ordinance of God, appointed for the punishment of evil doers, and that I wish his majesty all welfare both in this life, and the world to come; and that it may be his happiness to consider his obligations to God and perform the same, that so it may be well with him and his posterity to many generations; and I pray God make him a friend to his cause, and the truly godly who own the same, though falsely called fanatics or turbulent persons.

I declare I have such persuasion of the interest of religion reformed, and sworn unto in the covenant,
that

that I dare venture not only to lay down my own life, but if every hair of my head were a man, they should all be put to venture for this cause: I would not have the world to stumble at the cause, because of my death after this manner; for I rejoyce greatly in it: and I desire every good Christian, as they tender their own souls good, that they would grip fast, lay hold on, and cleave to Jesus Christ and his way.

My coming out at this time, I say, was not against his majesty, but for the covenant which is now troden under foot; my intention was for the cause of Christ: I take God to witness, it was nothing else I came out for, and for that I am free to lay down my life.

I bless God I am much encouraged in this, and not at all afraid to die for so good and clear a cause; and I hope, he will bring me through all my difficulties in this dark shadow of death: I hope I have the peace of a good conscience, and have had some glimpses from Jesus Christ, of his countenance and reconciled face, since I came into this prison, for which I desire to bless his name with all my soul, heart and spirit. And I rejoyce that he has made use of me to suffer for his cause; and I think it too little, not only to lay down my body, but (if it were possible) even my very soul at the stake for that cause, and for Jesus Christ my good and kind Master, who hath loved me, and given himself for me. I give the Lord thanks that I had some of his presence since I came into this condition: And again I say, I am much encouraged and not afraid to die, and bless him that I die not as a murderer, or evil doer, or rebel to authority, but for such a cause as this.

O that it were the happiness of my nation of *England*, once to subject themselves unto the sweet yoke of Christ's reformed government, under which
this

this nation of *Scotland* hath enjoyed so much of the power and life of the gospel, by a faithful ministry, according to the covenant sworn by them both.

And now, *my dear friends in Christ, and fellow-covenanters*, though I be a stranger in this land, being an *Englishman*, but trusted by providence in the prosecution of my calling, to have my residence for a time here in *Scotland*, which I look upon, as a singular evidence of God's special love to me, Though I be a stranger, I say, to many of you, yet I must be bold, as a dying friend, to beseech you, by the mercy of God, and by your appearance before Jesus Christ, when we shall have to do with none but him as our Judge, that ye be faithful and stedfast in the cause of God, and covenant which ye have sworn with hands lifted up to the most high God, which no power on earth can loose you from, and that ye keep you from snares unto the contrary, and not suffer yourselves to fall into a detestable neutrality and indifferency in the cause of God; especially that ye keep yourselves free of any engagements by word or write, that may wrong your oath of the covenant. I commit my wife and children to his care, who careth for them that put their trust in him before the sons of men, not doubting but they shall be eyed with good-will and favour by the godly, after I am gone. And now I render up my spirit to him who gave it me, and for whose sake I now lay down my life. To this God, my covenanted God, be glory, blessing and praise, for now and ever. *Amen.*

That this is my mind and testimony, which I leave behind me, I witness by my ordinary subscription,

R. SHIELDS.

The

THE TESTIMONY of
HUMPHREY COLHOUN,

At his death in *Edinburgh*, Dec. 22. 1666.

Dear Friends and Spectators,

I Am come here this day to this place to die this death, for crimes for which (I thank God) my conscience doth not condemn me. My crime, as is alledged, is for disloyalty against the king's majesty; yet I thank God that my appearing lately with the Lord's people was from my sense of my obligation in the covenant, and the sense of the wrongs done in the land, and the crying oppressions committed therein. This was the end of my appearing for the Lord against his enemies, to bear witness against the same; the which obligation of the oath of God, I judge that none on earth can loose the conscience from. I bless the Lord again and again, I die for this oath and covenant; and I thank God also, that I have by the great mercy of the almighty God in Christ Jesus, obtained mercy and forgiveness for all my transgressions both against the first and second table of the law: and that through that ocean of grace which is in the Lord Jesus Christ, I believe that I am justified and sanctified, and believe now to be glorified with him, by that blessed blood of his, which hath purchased this salvation to me, through faith in the same, made application of, according to the good covenant of grace. He hath performed this, out of his wonderful and incomparable free grace: and this is my joy and exceeding great rejoicing and consolation, and all my salvation, for which I am grace's debtor throughout all eternity. I die with this my testimony, and my adhereance to the National Covenant,

tenant, to the Solemn League and Covenant, to the work of reformation a great length carried on, and now overthrown most sinfully by ungodly men, who have established their apostasy by law, which no just power on earth could ever do. Also I adhere to the presbyterial government, the Confession of Faith, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, and to the Solemn Acknowledgment of the Church of *Scotland*, and publick testimonies thereof, against the sins of the time. This day I rejoice that he hath counted me worthy to lay down my life for him, as one that beareth witness against the breach of all the sacred oaths and ties that were established in this land, yea, by the just laws both of God and man, which never could have been repealed lawfully, as this wicked generation hath done.

Dear friends, I hope, ye will stand fast in this obligation, and in the solemn oaths and ties ye are under, and all the body of the land also will be stedfast in the same, upon the greatest hazard ye can meet with; and that ye will study perfect holiness and nearness with God, which will help to keep you straight in this day of persecution and sharp trial that is now raging in this land: I bless the Lord, I die not a fool, tho' some men have thought so of me by their speeches to me, since my imprisonment: neither durst I ever be the man to buy my liberty at such a dear rate as perjury, and to shake off these blessed bonds I did willingly come under; and I thank God, I never yet to this moment rued or repented it; and sure I am, it is better for me, to suffer the worst of deaths, than to preserve my life by breaking the oaths of God. I also give my testimony against Prelacy and that wicked hierarchy now established in this land, as that which the church of Christ could never bear until this day, it being such a grand enemy to the purity of the gospel,

spel, and power of godliness; yea, a yoke which the church of God groaneth under. I have no more to say, but commend all you the lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ to God himself, and to the good word of his grace, which is able to build you up until the day of his appearance, and to give you all an inheritance with them that are sanctified through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. And subscribes myself an expectant and apparent heir of the grace of Christ,

HUMPHREY COLHOUN.

THE TESTIMONY of

J O H N W I L S O N,

Who suffered at *Edinburgh, December 22. 1666.*

Good People and Spectators,

I Am here condemned to die upon alledged rebellion against the king and his authority, which God knoweth, I never intended. For in my judgment, a man's endeavouring to extirpate perjured Prelates and abjured Prelacy, according as he is bound by oath in a sworn covenant, may very well stand with a man's loyalty to king and country; for I am sure, the king and his subjects may be happy, yea, more happy in the extirpation of *Prelates* and *Prelacy*, than in their standing; yea, the throne shall never be established in peace, until that wicked plant be plucked up by the roots, which hath so much wasted and made desolate the Lord's vineyard: for my part, I pray that the Lord may bless our king with blessings from heaven, and make him a friend to the interests of Christ, as the best way for the standing of his throne to many generations: and I pray for all that are in authority under his majesty, that the Lord may not lay to their charge the innocent

cent blood of his saints, which they have shed. But the ground of my sentence is truly, the renewing of the covenant with my God, and labouring to defend the same, according to my oath: and this I profess is and was my duty, and by the grace of God will not quite it; and in token hereof, I am here before you all to lay down my life in defence of the same, and require you all to be witnesses to this my testimony; I do declare, I am not ashamed, but count it my glory. I do likewise declare this before you all in the sight of God, the judge of all hearts, that since the day I did first swear and subscribe this covenant for reformation, it hath been sweet unto me, for I am persuaded in my conscience of the warrantableness thereof. I did swear the covenant four times, and the last time at *Lanerk*, which was the sweetest time to me of them all; for with my whole soul I renewed it, and gave up both my soul and body to him, to be at his disposal, which, I trust in God, I shall never rue. Heartly praise and thanks be to the blessed God, that ever it pleased him to give to this poor church that mercy to enter in covenant with himself, that he might be unto us a covenanted God, the richest mercy that can be bestowed on men.

I have lived a Presbyterian in my judgment, according as I have sworn, and judge it to be the only way that God hath appointed in his word, for the government of his church on earth; for under that government the power and practice of religion hath greatly flourished, and many a soul has been converted to the Lord, and found sweet fellowship with him in his ordinances, by the ministry of his honest and lawfully called servants. And blessed be the day that ever I heard a faithful sent minister preach the gospel. I do declare before heaven and earth, that my whole design in this rising in arms, was only against abjured *Prelacy* and *Prelates*, the
great

great oppressors of God's interests, and cruel persecutors of his people, both in their consciences and bodies; and I judge their government and way not to be conform to the word of God in the holy Scriptures. I might cite many scriptures to this purpose, but I shall only name two, *Luke xxii. 26. But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.* And *1 Pet. v. 3. Neither as being lords over God's heritage, &c.* Yea, it may be seen from sad experience, that under their government, the power of godliness hath decayed, and avowed profanity and Popery itself hath increased, both to the dishonour of the holy Lord, and great grief of the hearts of the godly. I am persuaded of the truth of the covenant, and of the error of their way, and that Jesus Christ is the only King and Lord over his own house, and besides him there is none else, *for he will not give his glory to another*, that I dare seal the truth thereof with my blood, and am come hither for the same end, without any fear or amazement; yea, if every hair of mine head were a man, I would have ventured all, according to the covenant which I made with my God; and altho' I be a poor polluted sinner, and *my house not so with God*, as it became; yet *he hath made with me an everlasting covenant, well ordered in all things and sure, and this is all my salvation, and all my desire*; and I hope the Lord will soon tread down all his enemies with shame, and the enemies of his covenant also. Therefore, let all that love the Lord Jesus Christ and his truth and covenant, take comfort and courage, notwithstanding of all that which is come to pass; and let them not be ashamed to adhere thereunto, whatsoever sufferings they meet with therein, for he will make up that loss in himself, and avenge the wrongs done to himself and them, in his own due time: I assure you, Christ is a good Master to serve: if ye knew him rightly and his cross, it is sweet and

easy to the believer; for he maketh death to
and bringeth light out of darknes. I desire to
the blessed Captain of my salvation thro' well an
I beseech you, *my dear friends*, whom now I
part with, that ye stand to the defence of
truths of God and of his word; and that ye
the Lord Christ, as he hath offered himself th
ye who have not closed with him; and that h
hath closed with him, abide in him by a livel
and love, bringing forth fruits, that you ma
a credit on your profession, and keep off every
that may shame your glorious and blessed Mas
fore this evil and adulterous generation. And
you all warning, and dehort you heartily as y
your own souls, and as ye will answer to him
shall judge the quick and dead, that ye stand
all the duties ye are sworn unto in the Nation
in the Solemn League and Covenant, both to
God, your king, and one another: And th
beware of snares in taking of any oaths or de
tions contrary, in the least, to the oath of C
these covenants. I leave my wife and little ch
upon Jesus Christ my Lord, who are now to be
a widow and fatherless for his sake, trusting, I
care for them; and I recommend them to the c
and kindness of his people under him. I can f
the wrong done to me in taking away my life f
cause, and wish God to be merciful to these tha
condemned me, or have had any hand in my c
But blessed be God, that brought and hath ke
on his side of this cause, and honoured me t
public witness for him and his blessed truth and
for which I shall praise him in the world to
whither I now go: yea, I will praise him on th
ders of death and eternity. To his blessed
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be praise for no
ever. So faith your dying friend for Christ,

JOHN WILSON

The PAPERS left by
 Mr. JAMES MITCHEL,
 Sentenced to die January 18. 1678.

MY accusation before the Justices was, That I shot a pistol at the *archbishop* of *St. Andrews*, in July 1668. whereby the *bishop* of *Orkney* was wounded in the arm, and that I did confess the same before my *lord chancellor* and the council. But my defences amongst others was, That my confession I made was upon oath and promise made to me, upon life and safety; and indeed the promise made to me by my lord chancellor, was in these words, *Upon my great oath and reputation, if I be chancellor, I shall save your life.* And if ye will not confess, the council will take another way to make it out, which I took for the boots, which afterwards I found: And the justices did indeed find my confession to be a judicial one, altho' I did refuse to own it before the court, but did expressly retract it, unless that the above-mentioned promise were made good to me: it was likewise true, that they did also sustain my defence upon the said oath and promise made to me. And when the indictment came to be proven by the lords: *viz.* my lord chancellor, and other lords of council witnessed against me, because at the said time they also denied the making, or any knowledge of the making any such oath or promise to me; but it having pleased the Lord to provide me the copy of an act of council, which was made by the said lords, and subscribed (as I believe) by my lord chancellor, wherein the same oath and promised assurance, is expressly granted to have been given to me by warrant of the lord commissioner, for the time in council; albeit it be

by the same act revoked, for the reasons therein mentioned, the lords who had witnessed against me, were greatly moved, and did with great vehemency press the justices, that no such act should be received, to prove for me, since it did so directly contradict what they had sworn, which, tho' it was no ways reasonable, that the oaths of any should prejudice me, contrary to the truths and proofs adduced by me: yet the justices were necessitate, without hearing my advocate upon the matter, to reject the foresaid act, and put me off from so clear a probation of my defence, whereupon I was found guilty by the assizers, upon the ground of my said confession; albeit in all likelihood the assizers would not have found me guilty, if the act of council had been received, seeing the lord justice had declared, that the foresaid truth being proven, it should take off my confession: And however it is most certain, that the indictment against me was carried on against both right and truth: but remitting this unto the Lord, who one day will clear both me and all his servants in his most righteous judgment, I had here subjoined myself, principles, and foresaid practices, as they were set down in a letter to a friend, and another declaration written by me, when first convened before the lord justices in the year 1674.

The COPY of a LETTER from *Edinburgh Tolbooth, February* — 1674.

S I R,

ME, who may justly call myself *less than the least of all saints, and the chiefest of all sinners*: yet Christ Jesus calleth to be a witness for his despised truth, and trampled on interests and cause, by the wicked, blasphemous, and God-contemning generation, and against all their perfidious wicked.

wickedness. Sir, I say, the confidence I have in your real friendship, and love to Christ's truth, people, interest and cause, have encouraged me to write to you at this time, hoping ye will not misconstrue me, nor take advantage of my infirmity and weakness. You have heard of my indictment, which I take up in these two particulars: *First*, As they term it, rebellion and treason, anent which I answered to my *lord chancellor* in committee, that it was no rebellion, but a duty which every one was bound to have performed in joining with that party, and in the year 1656, Mr. *Robert Leighton* being then *primar* in the college of *Edinburgh*, before our laureation, he tendered to us the *National Covenant*, and *Solemn League and Covenant*; upon mature deliberation, I found nothing in them but a short compend of the moral law, only binding us to our duty towards God and towards men in their several stations; and I finding that our banished king's interest lay wholly included therein, and both coronation and allegiance oaths, &c. and they being the substance of all loyalty; and, my lord, it was well known, that then many were taking the tender, and forswearing *Charles Stuart*, parliament, and house of lords, I then subscribed both, the doing of which my *lord chancellor* would have stood at no less rate, if as well known, than this my present adhering and prosecuting the ends thereof doth now: And when I was questioned what then I called rebellion; I answered, It is in *Ezra vii. 26.* *And whosoever will not do the law of God and of the king, &c.* But being questioned before the commissioner and the council thereanent, I answered as I said to my *lord chancellor* before; in the year 1656, Mr. *Robert Leighton* being then *primar* in the college of *Edinburgh*, before our laureation, he tendered to us the *National and Solemn League and*

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Covenant : He stopt me, saying, *I'll wad ye are come here to give a testimony* : And then being demanded what I called rebellion, if it was not rebellion to oppose his majesty's forces in the face : To which I answered, *viz. My lord chancellor*, If it please your grace, I humbly conceive they should have been with us, meaning, that it was the duty of these forces to have joined with us, according to the *National and Solemn League and Covenant*, at which answer I perceived him to storm. But, saith he, I heard ye have been over seas, with whom did ye converse there? *Answer*, With my merchant. But, saith he, With whom in particular? *Answer*, With one *John Mitchel* a cousin of mine own. Saith he, I have heard of him, he is a factor in *Rotterdam*, to which I conceded. But, saith he, Did ye not converse with Mr. *Livingston*, and such as he. To which I answered, I conversed with all our banished ministers : To which he replied, Banished traitors, ye will speak treason at the bar. Then he answered himself saying, But they would call the shooting at the bishop an heroic act. To which I answered, That I never told them any such thing. But where did ye see *James Wallace* last? *Answer*, Towards the borders of *Germany* some years ago. But what ailed you at my lord *St. Andrews* (pointing at him with his finger.) *Ans.* My lord commissioner, the grievous oppression and horrid bloodshed of my brethren, and the eager pursuit after my own, as it appeareth this day to your grace, and to all his majesty's honourable privy council. After which he commanded to take me away, that they might see what to do next with me.

The second is the shooting of the shot intended against the bishop of *St Andrews*, whereby the bishop of *Orkney* was hurt : to which I answered, my lord chancellor in private, *viz.* That I looked on him

him to be the main instigator of all the oppression and bloodshed of my brethren that followed thereupon, and the continual pursuing after my own; and, my lord, as it was creditably reported to us (the truth of which your lordship knows better than we) that he kept up his majesty's letter inhibiting any more blood upon that account, until the last six was executed: and I being a soldier not having laid down arms, but being still upon my own defence, and having no other end nor quarrel at any man (but according to my apprehension of him) that as I hope in sincerity, without fixing either my sense or action upon the covenant itself, as it may be understood by the many thousands of the faithful, besides the prosecution of the ends of the same covenant, which was, and in that point the overthrow of Prelates and Prelacy, and I being a declared enemy to him on that account, and he to me in like manner: So I never found myself obliged, either by the law of God, or nature, to set a centry at his door for his safety; but as he was always to take his advantage, as it appeareth, so I of him, to take any opportunity offered. Moreover, we being in no terms of capitulation, but on the contrary, I by his instigation being excluded from all grace and favour, thought it my duty to pursue him at all occasions. Also, my lord, Sir William Sharp making his apology, anent his unhandsome and cheating way taken, for he took me, under the pretence to have spoken with me about other matters: I not knowing him until five or six of his servants were laying fast hold of me, they being armed of purpose, desired I would excuse him, seeing what he had done was upon his brother's account; which excuse I easily admitted, seeing that he thought himself obliged to do what he did to me, without law or order in the behalf of his brother; much more was I o-

bliged to do what I did in the behalf of many brethren, whose oppression was so great, and whose blood he caused to be shed in such abundance. Moreover, he persisted in his bloody murders, as witnesseth the wounding of Mr. *Bruce* at his taking, by his emissaries, some few days before that fell out concerning himself. Now, if by any means, in taking him away, I could have put a stop to the then current persecution, I esteemed it my duty. Thus far I have truly resumed what passed.

But this answer to the second part of the indictment may be thought by some to be a step out of my ordinary way; wherefore I shall offer to your consideration that passage, *Deut. xiii. 9.* wherein it is manifest, that the seducer, or inticer to worship a false god, is to be put to death, by the hand of those whom he seeks to turn away from the Lord, especially by the hand of the witnesses, whereof I am one, as appeareth, *Deut. xiii.* which precept I humbly take to be moral, and not merely judicial, and that it is not at all ceremonial, or levitical: And as every moral precept is universal, as to the extent of place, so also as to the extent of time and persons. Upon which command, Sir, I think that *Phinehas* acted in taking away the *Midianitish* whore, and killed him whom she had seduced, *Num. xxv. 8.* Also *Elijah*, by virtue of that precept, gave commandment to the people to destroy *Baal's* priests, contrary to the command of the seducing magistrate, who was not only remiss and negligent in executing justice, but became a protector and defender of the seducers. Then, and in that case, I suppose the Christian's duty not to be very dark. Moreover, we see that the people of *Israel*, 2 Chr. xxxi. 1. destroyed idolatry not only in *Judah*, wherein the king concurred, but in *Israel* and in *Manasseh*, where the king himself was an idola-

ter, And surely what all the people was bound to do by the law of God, every one was bound to do it, to the uttermost of their power and capacity. And as it was in *Zech. xiii. 3.* There the seducer's father and mother shall put them to death. I take this to be meant of the Christian magistrate; but when he is withdrawn by the seducer from the exercise of his office and duty, and is become utterly remiss and negligent in putting the seducer to death, according to God's express law, which is not expected of him, for then he should do justice upon himself, but is become a protector and defender of the idolater; then I doubt not, but that it doth become the duty of every Christian, to the uttermost of his power and capacity, to destroy and cut off both idolatry and idolaters. Yea, these presumptuously murdering Prelates, ought to be called so by the avenger of blood, when he meeteth them, by the express commandment of God, seeing the thing is manifestly true, and not to have liberty to flee to such cities of refuge, as the vain pretext of lawful authority: but they should be taken from the horns of such altars, and be put to death. Moreover, what is spoken concerning *Amalek*, upon the account he designed and resolved the extirpation of the Lord's people and truth, which are his throne, upon which he put forth his hand, and because he took occasion against them, *Exod. xvii. 14. Num. xxiv. 20.* he endeavoured God should not have a people to have served him according to his revealed will upon earth; and if he could effectuate his design, there should none have lived, who would not have served and worshipped him, and his idol gods. And for the better effectuating his design, he took occasion against them, when they were wearied coming out of *Egypt*, *Deut. xxv. 17. 18.* and the reason there annexed is, *he feared not God.* And
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because I know that the bishops both will and do say, that what they did against the Lord's people, whom they murdered, they did it by law and authority, but what I did was contrary to both. I answer, The king himself, and all the estates of the land, and every individual person in the land, both were, and are obliged by the oath of God upon them, to have, by force of arms, extirpated the perjured Prelates and Prelacy; and in doing thereof, to have defended one another with their lives and fortunes; the covenants being engaged to on these terms, viz. *After supplications, remonstrances, protestations and all other lawful means have been used now for that effect*: As the last remedy we took up arms, upon which condition, our nobility, and all the representatives of the nation, according to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, gave to the king both the sword and scepter, and set the crown upon his head; and he accordingly received them, and promised and swore by the ever-living God, to use and improve them for the use foresaid: and especially in order to the performing this article, viz. *The extirpation and overthrow of Prelacy*. And now they vaunt of authority; of what authority they do mean or speak of, truly I know not, except it be the authority of their aggregated gods, new gods, gods of whom they have their gain, life and standing, *Chemosh*, or *Bacchus*, which drunken *Moab* delighted to dwell with in dark cells, *Ashtaroth*, or *Venus*, whom they worship of the female kind, because of their adulteries and whoredoms, as also *Malcome*, or *Moloch*, which signifies tyrannical king, or a devil, if they will have it so, in whose arms and power they put their poor infants and posterity to be burnt according to his lust and pleasure, *Amos* v. 26. *Psal.* cvi. 37. and their Mammon, which they delight to worship daily, together

gether with their own bellies, *whose glory is their shame, who mind earthly things, whose end will be destruction*, except they repent, which there is little probability of, *Phil. iii. 19.* to which we may add their abominable pride, and blasphemous perjuries, then their gods will be equal in number to the whore their mother's sacraments, from whom they have their being, strength and standing, and from the Devil their father, who was a deceiver and murderer from the beginning. And now seeing the Prelates possess whatever their god *Chemosh* giveth them to possess: then should we not possess what the Lord our God giveth us to possess, *viz.* The eternal truths manifested to us in his revealed will, and keep and defend the same from all innovations and traditions of his and our adversaries, defend our lives and liberties out of the hands of our usurping enemies, *Judges xi. 29.* for sure I am, that God once dispossessed the Prelates and malignant of all these; and should they again possess them through our defect? God forbid; but the like of this work, our murdering Prelates like not, who plead like the whore their mother for passive obedience, and that all the Lord's people, who may not comply with their idolatries and perfidies, should lay down their bloody ax, with whom too many of our hypocritical time-serving and perfidious professors do agree, who had rather abide with *Reuben* among the sheep-folds, than jeopard life and fortune in the help of the Lord against the mighty; but do not consider the bitter curse pronounced by the angel of the Lord against *Meraz*, to which immediately he subjoins a blessing on *Jael* the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*. Others excuse themselves thus, *Vengeance is mine, I will repay it*; but so the throne of judgment is the Lord's, and by this they will take away the use and office of magistracy, which

which erroneous principles I detest : for God even in the working of miracles in dividing the Red Sea, *Exod. xiv. 16.* commanded *Moses* to stretch forth his rod : and Christ when he opened the blind man's eyes, maketh use of clay and spittle ; though indeed I mean not of any who were willing to have helped, but wanted opportunity ; yet there are many peevish time-serving professors, who resolve they shall never suffer, so long as they have either soul or conscience to mortgage, providing that they may keep them from suffering. And if it will not do their business, it seemeth before they suffer, they resolve to sell all out at the ground.

Nôw, Sir, I have neither misinterpret scripture, nor misapplied it, in regard of the persons here hinted at, nor been wrong in the end, which ought to be the glory of God, and the good of his church and people. Then I think that some persons ought to forbear to scourge me so fore with their tongues, while I am not yet condemned by the common enemy. And my hearing of some things reported by some behind my back, hath occasioned my writing to you at this time. O Sir, be intreated to pray to the Lord in my behalf, that he would be pleased, out of his mercy and goodness, to save me from sinning under suffering in this hour and power of darkness : for my soul is prest within me in the search betwixt sin and duty, *viz.* lest I should be niggard and too sparing of my life, when God calleth for it : And on the other hand, too prodigal and lavish of it, in not using all legal defences in preserving of it, and in any of the like nature ; I am in a strait, O Lord, undertake for me. Sir, I hope ye will excuse me in sending you these indistinct and irregular lines, when you consider my present condition. Sir, believe me, I would many times, when I am before them, think a scaffold a
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sweet retirement, lest they should cheat and deceive me, in making me either to stain the declarative glory of God, my own conscience, or his people and interests, and wronging of them, either by opening the enemies mouth against them, or letting loose their hands upon them; henceforth let the adversaries both say and do what they can, yet *the righteous shall hold on in his way, and he who hath clean hands will be stronger and stronger*, Job xvii. 9. *But he that saith unto the wicked, Thou art righteous, him shall the people curse, nations shall abhor him*, Prov. xxiv. 24. Farewel in the Lord.

P O S T S C R I P T.

It is acknowledged by all rational royalists, that it is lawful for any private person to kill an usurper, or a tyrant *sine titulo*, and to kill *Irish* rebels, and tories, or the like, and to kill bears and wolves, and catch devouring beasts, because the good of his action, doth not only redound to the person himself, but to the whole commonwealth, and the person acting incurs the danger himself alone. Second part of the Cloud of Witnesse, pag. 60. Mr. Knox hath these expresse words; 'For God (said he) had not only given me knowledge; and a tongue to make known the impiety of the idol, but had given me credit with many, who would have put in execution God's judgments, if I would only have consented thereto; but so careful was I of the common tranquillity, and loath was I to offend some, that in secret conference with zealous men, I travelled rather to slake that fervency God had kindled in them, than to animate and encourage them to put their hands to God's work; wherein I acknowledge myself to have done most wickedly, and from the bottom of my heart I do ask God pardon, that I did not
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' what in me lay to have suppressed that idol in the beginning.'

But Oh! how far are the men in our time from such convictions, whose work it is, to put out any spark of life and zeal, which appeareth to be in any person against the idolatry and idols in our time. Let men, whether foes or friends, carry or quarrel never so much, yet the purpose and determinations of God will not be disappointed, in leaving a witness against this misbelieving generation: and that he is both as powerful and willing to deliver one or more of his people trusting in him, yea, and that there is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or few, *1 Sam. xiv. 6.* If any be obedient to the voice of his commands, though success doth not always follow thereupon, more than it did to *Israel*, *Josh. vii. 12.* against the City of *Ai*, because there was an *Achan* in the camp; and alas! there are many *Achan's* in the camp of our *Israel*, which causeth the Lord's people to fall daily before their enemies, and which makes all their endeavours unsuccessful, I mean the hidden time-serving hypocrites and murmurers, who have preferred their backs and their bellies to the interest of God, and their hearts still desirous to return to *Egypt*: I say until such rebels be purged out and die, we can have little expectation to prosper in any enterprise or undertaking: for they have both belied and misbelieved God, notwithstanding of all his miracles, which he did of old, and which he hath done in our days for his people, and before their eyes, that they are so far gone back in a course of apostasy and compliance with the *Canaanites* of our time, and are become so brutish and ignorant of the express law of God, and are such enemies thereto, that they concur with the *Canaanites*, *Judg. vi. 30.* to have *Gideon* put to death, for performing his duty according to the express

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command of God, than either to study the knowledge thereof themselves, or give obedience thereto. But if it be objected, that *Gideon* had an expresse command from God for his encouragement; but he had no new command from God, save that which was expressly enjoined upon all the *Israelites*, by vertue of which every one was obliged to have done what he did, without any such message from God, *Deut.* vii. 2. and xiii. 15. and who are readier than *Judah* (before they incur any danger or loss) to send 3000 men to bring *Sampson* bound to the *Philistines*, than to send him ten for his assistance against the common enemy, concerning the truth of which we have gotten many sad experiments; but however, I hope, that which have been said shall occasion a further cognition, and more serious search into these forementioned truths, than hath been for a long time bypast.

That albeit I have singly declared mine own motives and reasons for that attempt and shooting, wherein I had, and now have peace, and I hope to find acceptance of God, according to the multitude of his mercies, to such as seek him in truth and sincerity, yet I will not take it on me absolutely, and in every respect to justify, or assert it. That is my own deliberate and fixed principle, albeit that it is justified by, and is the principle of the non-conformist Presbyterian party of the church of *Scotland*, of which I have the honour and happiness to be one, though the unworthiest of any. If I would say it of them, I should be found a liar against the truth, for I adventured on it from my own pure and proper motion, without the instigation of any, yea, without so much as the privity of any of that party, whom therefore I earnestly desire, that none may charge them with it: and if any shall, I do with confidence aver, that they deal with them most unjustly. I have, I say again, in the simplicity

ty of my heart with candour and ingenuity, being a dying man and a Christian, believing that I must be made manifest before the tribunal of Christ, and there receive according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or evil, given an account of the reasons and motives putting and pressing me on to it, wherein I had quietness of mind in the time, and have still this present hour, hoping that as he is sovereign Lord over all creatures, and moves any of them as instruments to whatsoever his pleasure is, and that as I say, I did take, and does still look upon the motion, as from himself, so he will accept of my sincerity in it, and one day bring forth his own and my righteousness, as the light.

Sic subscribitur,

Mr. JAMES MITCHEL.

The TESTIMONY of
Mr. JAMES MITCHEL.

NOW in this place I leave my testimony against and abhorrence of balls, bordel houses, mountebanks; acts of comedies, festival days, viz. at Yule and Pentecost, &c. which are all the product of a profane and perfidious clergy, all of them being instigated by Satan, as fitted instruments for exciting and stirring up of lust to this apostate and rebellious generation against God, his truth, covenant and people, and cause, and for the further increase of Satan's dominion in such as are rebellious against God.

I suppose some will be desirous to know what hath brought me to this place of suffering, to which I give no other answer than that which *Elijah* gave when threatned with death by *Jezebel*, 1 Kings xix.

14. *I have been very zealous for the Lord God of Hosts,*

Hosts, because the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and true worship, and slain thy prophets and ministers, and they seek my life to take it away this day. I know no other reason why I am brought to this place, but because I have lifted up my hand to the most high God, and sworn in judgment and in righteousness, from which I cannot go back, *Jer. iv. 2. viz.* from prosecuting the ends of these blessed covenants, which are the very basis, and the fundamental rights and constitution of the kingdom, which all ranks and stations was and is equally obliged and engaged to maintain, to the uttermost of their lives and fortunes, from which obligation and holy covenants, no power on earth is capable to loose any man's conscience.

With all my heart and soul I own and adhere to the work of reformation, as it was begun and carried on in this kingdom, according to the word of God, and to the *National Covenant*, and *Solemn League and Covenant*, and as it was settled amongst us in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, kirk-sessions, and the people's just power to choose and call their own lawful pastors; and I do declare, that I judge patronages to be a popish rite, and an usurpation in the house of God.

I homologate and approve of *Lex Rex*, *The Causes of God's Wrath*, to which there be many since that time to be added, *The Apologetical Relation*, *Naph-tali*, *Jus Populi*, &c. as orthodox and consonant to the received principles and doctrine of the church of Scotland.

I believe that magistracy is an ordinance appointed of God, as well under the New Testament, as it was under the Old, and that whosoever resisteth the lawful magistrate in the exercise of his lawful power, resisteth the ordinance and appointment of

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God, Rom. xiii. 1. to 8. *for he is God's minister to thee for thy good*, and in doing good thou needs not be afraid of him. 1 Pet. ii. 13. *We must obey the magistrate for conscience sake.* Deut. xvii. 15, 16, 17, &c. the lawful magistrate must be a man qualified according to God's appointment, and not according to the peoples lust and pleasure, lest in the end he should prove to them *a prince of Sodom*, and *governor of Gomorrah*, whom God in his righteousness should appoint for their judgment, and establish for their correction, &c. he must be *one of thy brethren*, and not the son of a stranger; he must not *make himself strong by multiplying of horses*, to the end he may compel the Lord's people to rebel against God's express command, and *Jeroboam-like* to compel the people to any course of apostasy; *he must not multiply wives to himself*, much less whores, nor marry an idolatrous wife like *Jezebel*, 1 Kings xvi. 31. nor covetous, *in multiplying to himself silver or gold*: He must be *a diligent student of the law of the Lord all the days of his life*, that he turn neither to the right hand, nor to the left therefrom, but must judge the people accordingly; otherwise, neither he nor his children can expect to prolong their days in *Israel*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. *He must not be a son of Belial*, without or above law and order, whom a man cannot touch, except he be fenced with iron; for such shall be *thrust away*; for, saith David, *he that ruleth over men must be just, walking in the fear of God*, &c. But if a man simulating himself to be thus qualified, and thereafter when he hath strengthened himself upon his throne, shall abjure and falsify his oath and covenant both to God and his subjects, and shall transgress the law and commandment of the Lord, who have given the magistrate only an accumulative power to promote, protect and defend God's laws, truth and people, from being corrupted, violated, or any wise damnified, and for that end hath received

ed both his place and power from God and men, for he hath not received of the Lord an absolute, an obstructive, destructive and privative power; for as hath been said, the people can give no right nor power to any man, but what is according to God's appointment, lest they should incur that sad challenge from God, *Hos. viii. 4. They have set up kings, but not by me; they have made princes, but I knew it not,* for in *chap. x. 3. Israel* confesseth their fault, and they denied that they had a king, because he was not such as God had appointed; and saith, *What should a king do to them,* seeing he had partly by force, and partly by fraud withdrawn them from the fear and obedience which they owed to God and his law; and had seduced and compelled them to idolatry and worshipping of false gods. And if the magistrate being in power, shall overturn the covenanted work of God, his truth and interest, the fundamental and municipal laws of the land; and moreover by a selected parliament, according to his own mind, and for his own use and ends, they, as the peoples representatives, do by acts rescissory rescind all acts of laudable parliaments, committees of estates, or counsellors, wherein were contained and comprehended a mutual bond, obligation, covenant or contract betwixt the prince and people, he having divested himself of any legal right to rule over such a people, and they being *in statu quo prius*, none having right to rule over them without their own consent. If the foresaid magistrate shall then again injure and invade the peoples lives, religion, liberties and laws, and make even a simple supplicating of him a crime of treason, contrary to the dictates of nature; and by his armed emissaries, and his arbitrary power, carried on by the sword in their hands, compel the Lord's people to relinquish and forsake the true religion and worship of God, and make a surrender of both their souls, consciences,

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lives, lands and liberties, and embrace a false religion, and will-worship, and engage to serve and worship false and idol gods at his pleasure; for this is all that is near and dear to a people being in extremity of hazard. Now it necessarily followeth to be the duty of such a people, or any part of them, to take up arms in defence of their lives, laws, liberties and religion, and of their posterity, that they may not be left in such intolerable bondage, and as they would not be accounted guilty of bringing God's wrath upon the whole land, *Jer. xxii. 2, 3. Hear ye the word of the Lord, O king of Judah, thou and thy servants, and thy people that enter in by these gates, execute ye justice and judgment and righteousness, and deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor. Jer. xxxvii. 2. But neither he, nor his servants, nor the people of the land, hearkened unto the prophet Jeremiah, till wrath from the Lord consumed them all.* And now, if it had not been the people's duty to have executed judgment and righteousness, and to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor Zedekiah and his servants, which I think was meant by the nobility or princes proving deficient in order to the performing of their duty; it had not been their sin to have omitted it, but here we see it is as well charged home to be the sin of the people, as the sin of the king, or of the nobles, &c. But say some, Who shall be judge in such cases? for what other judge is there, when two kings or monarchies falling out in war, neither of them being subject to any judge. But some profane brutish ignorant malignant says, Shall this or that ignorant fellow, or hussy, take upon them to determine what the law of God says in such cases? I answer, That neither this nor that ignorant fellow, nor hussy; nor yet this or that profane, wicked or perfidious prince, or princes, are capable to be judges. *Deut. xxx. 11. For the commandment which I com-*

mand thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. Ver. 12. *It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go for us to heaven, and bring it to us, that we may hear it, and do it :* Ver. 13. 14. *Neither is it in the sea ;—But the word is near unto thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayst do it ;* and in this case I do appeal to every man of sober wit or judgment, seeing the secrets of the Lord are with them that fear him, Psal. xxv. 14. and seeing evil men understand not judgment, but they that seek the Lord understand all things, Prov. xxv. 5. for they know not how to do right, they store up robbery in their palaces, Amos iii. 10. who is then most capable to judge what the law of God determineth in all such matters? *Artaxerxes* a great monarch commanded, that whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, it should be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven ; for why should there be wrath upon the realm of the king and of his sons, Ezra vii. 23. But oh ! how many at this time of the sons of *Belial*, contrary to what is here spoken, screw up those that are above themselves, to such a pinnacle of unlimited and arbitrary power, far above either what the law of God, or the law of nature will admit of, for this very end and purpose, that they may glory in the work of their hands ; and he whom they have thus set up, and to whom they have made a surrender of both credit, conscience, and common honesty, may return to them a power over others who are under them, by putting a sword in the hands of bloody cut-throats, who are raised and kept up for that effect, to bring and keep into an Egypt-bondage their persons, lives, laws and liberties ; yea, even the souls and consciences of the Lord's people. This power I declare to be diabolical, profane and blasphemous, and *Pharaoh*-like to say, *Who is the Lord that I should obey him*, Exod. v. 2. Now, seeing

both the throne and judgment is the Lord's, then blessed and happy magistrate, who ruleth and governeth his subjects, keeping a straight line of subordination to God's laws and statutes; for in so doing none may say to him, What doest thou? And happy and blessed people thus governed, *Deut. iv. 7. And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous, as this law which I set before you this day?* But O the blasphemous perjuries of this wicked and apostate generation, whom no bonds, obligations, nor covenants can bind, except these spoken of in *Psal. cxlix. 8. But shall they thus break the covenant, and prosper?* escape and be delivered? *Ezek. xvii. 15. and 18.* as if the Lord's hand could not reach them to inflict due and just punishment upon them who commit such things.

I do detest and abhor that woful *indulgence* and encroachment and usurpation on the crown and prerogative royal of our Lord Jesus Christ, (both in the givers and receivers thereof) howbeit I have very much charity, love and affection to many of the ministers, who have embraced the same; for I do really think that they have been outwitted in that matter, and have not wickedly departed from following the Lord; yea, I hope, they shall get their souls for a prey in the day of the Lord, altho' they may suffer loss in building such hay and stubble upon the rock Jesus Christ, when their work shall be burnt by the fire of the Lord's jealousy. I approve of Mr. *Burnet's* letter sent to the commissioner thereanent.

I protest before God, angels and men, against all these acts of parliament and council, which are against, or derogative to the work of God and reformation, and carrying on of the same, according as we are engaged and sworn to in these holy bonds of the National and Solemn League and Covenant. I abhor the shedding of the blood of the Lord's people, for their adhering to the same, and the peo-
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ples guarding such in prison-houses and scaffolds unto their death; who, both by the oath of God upon them, and by the antient and laudable laws of the land, and by the law of nature, they were obliged to have defended to the uttermost of their lives and fortunes. It being well known, that such as were put to death had committed no crime; but on the contrary had performed the duty, which the guarders were as much obliged to have performed as the pannels, if they had been as faithful to God and men, as they were.

Likewise I protest against their banishment, their imprisonment, their finings and confinements, and against all the hardships and perplexities of whatsoever kind they have been put to, through the iniquities of the-times, so that we may justly (with our predecessors) say, that our persecuters have devoured us, and have crushed us, swallowed us up like dragons, and have filled their bellies with our delicacies, and have cast us out, *Jer. li. 34.* for which cause God gave a charge to prepare instruments for the overthrow and destruction of such persecuters, *ver. 11. Because it was the vengeance of the Lord, and the vengeance of his temple,* and so shall our remnant who out-live the persecution say, *ver. 35. The violence done to me and my flesh be upon Babylon, and my blood be upon the inhabitants of Chaldea;* let the wrath of the Lord pursue them for their blood, and violence in their persons and estates, and their strength wherein they confide, and in their friends and favourites, who have consulted and continued with them in their wicked courses. I hope the time is drawing near, and the joints of their loins are loosening, their knees are beginning to smite one against another, *Dan. v. 6.* and the hand-writing beginning to be pourtrayed upon the wall, because they have not considered what God did to their predecessors for their idolatrous pride and wickedness, although

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they

they know it, yet they are become more insolent in idolatry and wickedness, and daring against God than ever their fore-fathers presumed to be, meddling with the vessels and materials of the Lord's house, and with the crown and kingly office of Christ Jesus and have appropriate them for their own idolatrous ends and uses, *ver. 23.* therefore when the furbished sword of the Lord's indignation and justice shall break forth to devour, which it may do before the dark night of these dreadful dispensations quite pass over; then shall the time-serving hypocrites of this generation begin to their untimely prayers, *viz. for hills and mountains to fall upon them, to hide them from the face of the righteous Judge; for who may abide the day of his coming, for executing vengeance on his adversaries.* In that day the man shall be accursed that *keepeth back his sword from blood, and who doth the work of the Lord deceitfully,* Jer. xlviii, 10. Yea, happy shall he be, that taketh this cursed malignant and prelatick brood, and dasheth them against the stones; yea, happy shall he be that rewardeth them as they have served us, *Psal. cxxxvii. For this honour have all the saints, the high praises of God in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hands, to execute vengeance on the heathen,* Psal, cxlix. 9.

Having thus delivered myself in the point that I have mentioned: I only add to what I have said, that I own these things, as my own judgment alloweth, what may seem to be singular in those great and important matters, not willing that any thing, wherein others may differ from me, should be looked upon as the principles, or persuasion of the party whereto I adhere. I obtest that no man be so diabolical and profane, as to charge this upon any of my persuasion, it being but my own, which I hope God hath approved in me; and whom God justifieth, who dare condemn?

Now,

Now, if the Lord in his wise and over-ruling providence bring me to the close of my pilgrimage, to the full enjoyment of my long looked for and desired happiness, let him take his own way, and time, in bringing me to it. And in the mean while, O my soul, sing thou this song, Spring thou up, O well of thy happiness and salvation, of thy eternal hope and consolation, and whilst thou art burdened with this clog of clay and tabernacle, dig thou deep in it by faith, hope and charity, and with all the instruments that God has given thee; dig in it by precepts and promises, dig carefully and dig continually, ay and while thou come to the source and head of the fountain himself, from whence the water of life flows; dig until thou come unto the assembly of the first-born, where this song is most suitably sung to the praise and glory of the rich grace and mercy of this fountain of life. O my soul, follow thou in all thy diggings the direction of the great Lawgiver, so shalt thou prosper in all thy taking of pains. O happy nobles and princes of *Israel*, who were admitted to the sight and to the song, to the pains, and to the profit, which none of the mixt murmurers were admitted to, because of their unbelief, *Numb. xxi. 17.* And O Father of mercies (whilst I am tossed upon the turbulent seas of manifold troubles) grant that thy presence may be with me, and that thy everlasting arms may be underneath me to support me; for sure I am, *Moses* thy servant had good reason to be important in his suit, *Exod. xxxiii. 12.* compared with *14. 15. ver. and chap. xxxiv. 9.* seeing no less could furnish him with fresh support in the work he was about. O let thy presence be with me, and then my soul shall dig and sing, and sing and dig through times of trouble unto eternal rest, where I shall be admitted to behold the rock Christ, out of whom floweth the pure river, and fountain of life and happiness, where I
may

may drink, and not be damnified through the assaults of Satan, and the invasions of Satan, or of a wicked world any more. Now, according to the promise, *Matth. x. 19.* out of thy fatherly mercy grant present help, supply and direction in this time of trouble, seeing *that it is not in man that walketh to direct his own steps*, *Jer. x. 23.* And although it be a hard thing to distinguish betwixt sin and duty, yet thy law, thy word and truth, which are quick and powerful, dividing asunder the soul and spirit, and is a discerner of the thoughts; and thy law giveth light, *Psal. cxix. 105.* And thy testimonies, O Lord, are sure, making wise the simple, *Psal. xix. 7.* For they alone, O Lord, can make all thy dispensations profitable, in order to the purging away of sin, even when they seem to be destructive, *Isai. xxvii. 9.* Especially when thou intends them *not for destruction, but for trial*, and further humiliation, *Deut. viii. 2. 16.* for thou, O Lord, hast led me for many years through a barren and wearisome wilderness, to the end that thou mightest work this work of mortification in me; altho' had it seemed good unto thee, thou wouldst have brought me into the land of promise and rest another nearer way, *Exod. xiii. 16.* For by hardships many a time thou hidest pride from men, and sealest up their instruction, that thou mayest deliver his soul from the pit, and his life may see the light, *Job. xxxiii. 17. 18.* And although, O Lord, thou shouldst send me the back track and tenor of my life, to seek my soul's comforts and encouragements from them, yet I have no cause of complaining of hard dealing from thy hand, seeing it is thy ordinary way with some of thy people, *Psal. xlii. 6.* O God, my soul is cast down in me, therefore I will remember thee from the land of Jordan and from the hill Hermon, &c. Yea, the last time he brought me to the banqueting house, and made love his banner over me, among the cold Highland hills beside Kippen,

pen, November 1673. he remembered his for mer loving kindness towards me. But withal he spoke in mine ear, that there was a tempestuous storm to meet me in the face, which I behoved to go thro' in the strength of that provision, 1 *Kings* xix. 7. And now, O my soul, seeing the ordinary method and way with the Lord is to send a shower, and a sun-blink, and again a sun-blink and a shower, therefore keep thou silent unto God, murmur not, fret not, be not disquieted, be still and be content, seeing that all my persecutors can do, either by fraud or force, can neither alter the nature, or kind of my sufferings, nor add so much as one degree there- to, neither lengthen out the time of them one moment, *Micah* vii. 10. *Exod.* xii. 41. All *Pharaoh's* power could not keep *Israel* one moment longer in *Egypt*, therefore it is my duty to study with *Paul*, *Phil.* iv. 12. *In whatsoever state I am in, therewith to be content.* And say, *Should the earth be forsaken, and the rocks removed for me?* *Job.* xviii. 4. Should God alter the course of providence for me, in which there is such efficacy, as to carry all things to their proper and appointed end, with a most stable power? *And that I may be found in him, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith,* *Philip.* iii. 9. 10. And to resign up to God my will and affections to be disposed on as he pleaseth; and to say with fear, humility and reverence, *O Father, not my will, but thy will be done,* and whether I live or die, I may be the Lord's, that through his mercy and grace I may attain to his approbation, viz. *That well done good and faithful servant;* who hath hitherto shut the lion's mouth by his angels, that they have not hurt me, *Dan.* vi. 22. And who hath so shut the eyes of my persecutors with a *Sodomitisb* blindness, that hitherto they could not find out the way to break

break in upon me; And it may be in due time he will bring me out of the furnace, and will, through his grace, not suffer the smell thereof to be found upon me; and if not, yet I never held it to be my duty to worship this rotten and stinking idol of jealousy, which these nations have set up, *Who have both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us, 1 Thess. ii. 15.* For thou, Lord, hast not despised nor abhorred my afflictions when I was afflicted, neither hast thou hid thy face from me: *When I cried unto thee, thou heardst me; Psal. xxii. 24. O Lord God, thou hast made the heavens and the earth by thy great power and outstretched arm, Jer. xxxii. 17.* Bring thou me at length to an happy arrival within the gates of the new *Jerusalem*, where no unclean thing can come, *that my praise may be of thee in the great congregation.* And although, as *Job* saith, *chap. x. 17.* that thou, O Lord, hast deliverd me over into the hand of the wicked, yet by this, O Lord, I know *that thou favourest me, because mine enemies shall not triumph over me, Psal. xli. 11.* And when I stood in judgment, thou, O Lord, didst not condemn me. And if it please thee, *thou wilt not leave me in their hand, Psal. xxxvii. 33. But canst bring up my life from the pit of corruption, Jonah ii. 6.* And seeing I have not preferred, nor sought after mine own things, but thy honour and glory, the good, liberty and safety of thy church and people, although it be now misconstrued by many, yet I hope at length thou, Lord, wilt make *my light to break forth as the morning, and my righteousness as the noonday,* and that shame and darkness shall cover all who are adversaries to my righteous cause, for thou, O Lord, art the shield of my head, and the sword of my excellency, and mine enemies shall be found liars, and shall be subdued. *Amen, yea and Amen.*

Sic subscribitur,

MR. JAMES MITCHEL.

Follows his TORTURES 1676.

A Relation of what past betwixt the committee, as it was made up by the council, consisting of councellors, viz. my lord *Linlithgow* preses, *Hatton* treasurer depute, *Dundonald*, *Ross* and *Murray*, justiciaries, viz. *Craigy*, *Collington &c.* and Mr. *James Mitchel* whom they intended to have surpris'd after two years imprisonment, who being indicted of life and fortune, and having fully answered to, and received the same at three several diets, unawares, at six o' clock of the night, about the inclosing of the wards, they called him forth before them in *January* 1676 years.

At his appearance before the said committee the lords justiciaries obscuring themselves, by putting their hands upon their faces and leaning upon their elbows upon the table. My lord preses said, Sir, ye are brought here before the committee, to see if you will adhere to your former confession, or not. To which he answered, My lord, it is not unknown to your lordship, and others here present, that by the councils order I was remitted to the lords justiciaries, before whom I received an indictment, at my lord advocate's instance, wherein I was indicted both of life and fortune, although my lord, fortune have I none. To which indictment I answered at three several diets, being deserted by my lord advocate. I humbly conceive that both by the law of the nation, and the practice of the house, at that time I ought to have been set at liberty, yet notwithstanding I was contrary both to law, justice and equity returned to prison. And upon what account I am brought this night before your lordships I know not. To the which my Lord preses answered, Ye are not accused here, neither upon life nor fortune, but to see whether you will adhere to

to your former confession. To which it was answered, I am not convinced of any crime, therefore I know not any such confession, as your lordship alledges. To which my lord treasurer depute replied, He is one of the most arrogant rogues, cheats liars, and what not. To which I replied, My lord, if there were fewer of such persons of whom your lordship have been speaking, in the nation, I would not be standing this night at your bar: but my lord advocate knows, that what hath been alledged against me, is not my confession. To which he replied, Do you not remember, that before the lord commissioner and the council, you said such and such things. To which it was replied, That my lord commissioner never enquired about any such thing. Only he said, he heard that I had been abroad, and over seas, and enquired with whom I did converse there. To which it was replied, With my merchant, my lord; but with whom in particular? To which I answered, With one *John Mitchel*, a cousin of mine own, so that there was no such discourse before the council: but says, my lord preses, we will make a sharper thing make you to confess. To which it was replied by the pannel, I hope your lordships are Christians and not Pagans. To which the treasurer depute added, saying, that the pannel was no Christian; To which the pannel replied, My lord, you know the old proverb, *Turpe est doctori, &c.* and so he was returned to prison for that night, to wit, to close prison, being the 18th day of *January*.

Upon the 22d day, being called before the said committee, who sat in the town's council house, at which time my lord preses said to him, Sir, ye are called here again, to see if ye will adhere to your former confession, opening a large paper to the pannel, and alleged it to be subscribed by him. To which it was answered, My lord, I acknowledge

no such thing. Then he replied, Sir, you see what is upon the table before you. I shall see if that can cause you do it. To which it was answered, By that torture you may cause me to blaspheme God, as *Saul* did compel the faints; you may by that torture cause me to speak amiss of your lordship, to call myself a thief, a murderer or warlock, and what not, and then pannel me upon it: But if ye shall, my lords, put me to it, I here protest before God and your lordships, that nothing extorted from me by torture shall be made use of against me in judgment, nor have any force against me in law, or any other person whatsoever; but to be plain with your lordship, I am so much a Christian, that whatever your lordship shall legally prove against me, if it be a truth, I will not deny it. But, my lord, on the contrary, I am so much a man, yea, and a *Scotsman*, that I never held myself obliged, either by the law of God or nature, or by the law of nations, to become my own accuser: Then said my lord depute treasurer to the preses, He hath the devil's logick, and sophisticates like him. Ask him whether or not that be his subscription. To which he answered, he acknowledged no such thing. To which *Hatton* answered, Bid him say yea, or not. Then my lord preses said, pointing his hand to the boot, you see what is before you, say either yea, or not, he answered, I say not; and so he was returned to close prison as before.

Upon the 24th day, they solemnly assembled, to wit, with their robes in the parliament house, where the lords of the session sit, at which time the executioner was present with the boots, and the pannel being brought as before to the bar. The lord preses said, You are now brought here, to see if you will yet confess, before you be put to torture. But the pannel knowing, according to the rate of the *Spanish* inquisition, that always the more he

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confessed either concerning himself or any other person, the more severely the torture would be made use of, to make him confess more. Therefore he answered after this manner. My Lord, I shall study brevity by speaking in a few words what I have to say, viz. that I have been now these two full years in prison, and more than one of them in bolts and fetters, and upward of thirty weeks in close prison, my imprisonment hath been more intollerable to me than the pains of many deaths, if I had been capable thereof: yea, and it is well known, that within a shorter time, in regard of my imprisonment, severals have made away themselves rather than endured the affliction of a prison. But, my lord, an obedience to the express commandment of God hath made me to undergo all hardships I have hitherto met with, and to undergo this present torture, to wit, the preservation of my life, and the lives of others, as far as it is in my power, and to keep off innocent blood from your lordships, and your families and relations, which by shedding of mine, doubtless you would bring upon yourselves, posterity and relations wrath from the Lord, to the consuming thereof, until there should be no remnant nor escaping. And now, my lords, I do again protest before God and your lordships, that whatever may be extorted from me by torture, may not be made use of against me, nor any other person in judgment, nor have any force in law. And so, my lords, I have done: you may call the men whom you have appointed to your work. After which they called the macer to call upon the executioner, and two officers appointed for that effect, who tied him in an armed chair, and brought the boots, and enquired which of his legs they should take, but they after speaking amongst themselves commanded the executioner to take any of them; upon which he laid the left leg upon the boot, but the pannel lifted

lifted it out again, saying, Seeing the judges have not determined it, take the best of the two, for I freely bestow it in the cause, and laid his right leg into the torture; after which the king's advocate said, I shall speak but one word or two, but notwithstanding continued his discourse for a considerable time; so when he had made an end, the panel answered thus, My lord preses, the advocate's one word or two hath multiplied to so many, that my memory cannot serve me in the condition wherein I am, to resume them, so as to answer them in particular: but I shall answer to the scope of his discourse. *First*, Whereas he hath been speaking to the sovereignty of the magistrate, I shall say somewhat more than he hath said, to wit, That the magistrate whom God hath appointed, is God's deputy, and that both the throne and the judgment is the Lord's, while he judgeth for God, and according to the law of God; and that a great part of his office is to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor, and to shed no innocent blood, according to the commandment of God to *Zedekiah*, by the prophet *Jeremiah*, chap. xxii. 3. And, my lords, disobedience to his commandment brought the wrath of God upon him, his princes, and the whole nation of the *Jews*, chap. xxxvii. *Secondly*, My lord advocate hath been hinting at the sinfulness of lying upon any account: It is answered, my lords, That not only lying is sinful, but also a pernicious speaking of the truth, is a horrid sin before God, while it tendeth to the shedding of innocent blood, as witness that of *Doeg*, *Psal.* lii. compared with *1 Sam.* xxii, 29. But what my lord advocate hath forged against me, is false; so that I am standing upon my former ground, *viz.* the preservation of my life, and the lives of others, as far as it lies in my power, the which I am expressly commanded to do by the Lord of hosts. After which the clerk's

servant being called by the advocate, they interrogate him of many questions, upward to the number of thirty, only to see if they could catch him in a contradiction; or to see, if they could find out any person to witness against him; but he understanding their drift, answered as followeth. My lords, not knowing that I shall escape this torture with my life, therefore, I beseech you to remember what Solomon says, *He who sheweth no mercy, shall have judgment without mercy.* And if there be any here present, as I hope there are few or none, yet if there be any such here, whose disposition is so eager in pursuing after innocent blood, that nothing less than a full draught will satisfy them, I say, let such remember what is spoken, *Rev. xvi. 5. 6. Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast thus judged: For they have shed the blood of the saints, and prophets; and thou hast given them blood to drink, for they are worthy, &c.* And now, my lords, I do freely from my heart forgive you who are judges sitting upon the bench, and the men who are appointed to be about this piece of horrid work; and also these who are vitiating their eyes beholding the same. And I do intreat, that God may never lay it to the charge of any of you, as I beg God may be pleased, for his Son Christ's sake, to blot out my sins and iniquities, and never lay them to my charge here nor hereafter.

Quest. Are you that Mr. James Mitchel, who was excepted out of the king's act of grace and favour, or not? *Answ.* I never committed any such crime deserving me to be excluded, but rather to be included, protected and defended. *Q.* Know you any more of that name? *A.* Yes, there are two within *Midlothian*, and what know I, but there may be more elsewhere. *Q.* When knew you of the rising in arms, *Anno 1666.* *A.* My lords, I knew of it when the rest of the citizens knew of it. *Q.* When

was that? *A.* When there came a messenger to the council for that effect, and when *Dalziel* and his soldiers marched out at the *West-port* in order there-to. *Q.* Went you not out of town with capt. *Arnot*? *A.* No. *Q.* Where did you meet with *James Wallace*? *A.* I did not know him at that time. *Q.* Was you at *Ayr*? or did you join with the rebels there, or any where else? *A.* I never joined with any such. To which my lord *Hatton* treasurer depute replied, saying, My lord, he never acknowledges these men to be rebels. To which the pannel answered, My lord, I shall in answer to what is spoken follow *Solomon's* advice in that he says, at some times even a fool by holding his peace will be repute wise, whether or not *Hatton* took it to be spoken of him, I cannot tell, but there was nothing replied thereto by any of them. *Q.* Where was you at the time of *Pentland*? *A.* In *Edinburgh*. *Q.* Where was you before it? *A.* In *Edinburgh*. Where was you after it? *A.* In *Edinburgh*. *Q.* Where did you lodge before that time. *A.* In one *Girsel Whiteford's*. *Q.* Where did you stay at that time, and was you still in the town, or not. *A.* My lord advocate, I do not know what you mean by being still in the town, for you may call it out of the town, if I was at the Windmill, or at *Leith*. *Q.* What, was you no where further abroad, than at such places? *A.* My memory cannot serve me now after ten year's space, to determine where I was, neither do I keep a diurnal of times past, nor is it my duty so to do; neither do I think any man's memory here present can serve him for so long a time: But this I judge, that it is my duty every day to be about my lawful employment and calling, according as God hath commanded, and therewith to rest satisfied. *Q.* What took you out of the town at that time? *A.* I was making myself ready to go over to *Flanders*. *Q.* With whom went you. *A.* With one *John Forrester* an *Ostender*.

Q. How long was it after *Pentland* before you went?

A. I cannot tell. Q. Can you not give it a guess?

A. About a month or six weeks. Q. What was you doing all that time? A. I was making myself ready, and thereafter there came a contrary wind. Q. Who

was merchant in the ship? A. I enquired not. Q. But went not the merchant alongst with you? A. No.

Q. What was the reason of that? A. It was the time of the *Dutch* war against the *Engliss*, and at such times merchants of ships do not hazard their persons with their goods, but commit their affairs to factors abroad. Q. How long stayed you there?

A. About three quarters of a year. Q. Why stayed you so long there? A. It was a space before I was ready to return, and thereafter, the report of peace came, which thereafter followed, and I thought it better to wait a little time than hazard in war.

Q. With whom came you home again? A. With *Dutchmen* who were *Amsterdammers*. Q. Was there

no *Scotsmen* with you? A. I have told you, my lords, I came home with *Dutchmen*. Q. Who was

the skipper of the ship? A. I cannot remember, but he came to *Lime-Kills* for a loading of coals from *Sir James Hacket*. Q. What goods fetch you home?

A. I cannot now remember the particulars. Q. Where did you enter them? A. I made the best shift I

could to shun the customers. At which *Sir William Parvas* riseth, to cause call the excise-men. To which the pannel replied, O *Sir William*, it was out of your time and theirs. Q. Did you know *Peniry*?

A. Yes. Q. Is he living. A. No. Q. Did you

know *Sir James Stirling*, and *Mr. Robert Ferguson*? Are they alive? A. They are both dead, the one

in this town, and the other in the *Indies*, being called by the *Indian* merchants to be a minister in one of their plantations. Q. Knew you *William*

Young, and whose tenant he was? A. Yes; I both knew him, and that he was a tenant of *Sir John*

Gibson's.

Gibson's. Q. Bought you a horse from him at that time? A. I never bought a horse from him. Q. From whom had you a horse, when you went out of town? A. There was none in the city who had a horse to lend for hire, who would have refused me for my money. Q. But of whom had you a horse? A. Where I could have none, I took me to my feet.

These are the questions so far as my memory can reach, which being ended, the executioner being commanded thereto, took down his leg from off a chest upon which it had been lying the whole time in the boot, and it being set upon the ground, he began to thrust in the shafts, and drive the wedge. And at every stroke they enquired, if I had any more to say. To which it was answered, No more, my lords; and thus it continued to the number of nine strokes upon the head of the wedge: at the end of which he fell into a little swarf thro' the extremity of pain; at which the executioner cried out, Alas! my lords, he is gone, he is gone. Then they commanded to leave off the torture, and rising from their seats went away. After which he was returned to the tolbooth, being carried by his friends in the chair in which he was tied, during the time of his torture.

But for obviating and removing any scruple, which may be objected against what is formerly rehearsed, I offer these things to your consideration. 1. Where there is an antecedent upon oath, or promise, upon confessing or acknowledging a duty performed, the one depending illatively upon the other: and when the antecedent, viz. the oath or promise is judicially rescinded, made null and void, in order to all force and effect whatsoever; I hope then, and in that case, no man upon legal or rational grounds will deny but the consequent, by the same act rescissory, which relatively depends thereupon, is as freely and fully made null and void, as to any force

and effect, which either in law, or reason, or conscience, can be pretended to the contrary; and so both parties, by mutual consent, are put *in statu quo prius*. But it is true concerning the antecedent, which is clear from *Joshua ii. 4.*

2. Consider, that when a bloody and persecuting enemy, regarding neither law, conscience, nor reason, and having the power of life and death in their hands, rules over the people of God. In that case, the obscuring and concealing of a necessary and commanded duty, and to divert them by some other thing for a time, is warrantable. I hope this is manifest from *1 Sam. xvi. 26.* *And Samuel said, How can I go, if Saul hear of it, he will kill me; and the Lord said, Take an heifer with thee, and say, I am come to sacrifice, &c.* As also, ye may see it, *1 Sam. xx. 6.* *If thy Father at all miss me, then say, David earnestly, &c.* As also from *Jer. xxxviii. 24, 26.* So it is evident, that it had been the practice of the most eminent of the Lord's people to take that way to shift the hellish fury of adversaries.

3. Consider, that when an adversary having power in his hand, doth subvert and overturn the very nature and truth of a discourse; for example, if it were of a minister's sermon, by leaving out the most material truths, and putting in circumstances and untruths in the room thereof; then, and in that case, I hope it is not that sermon, speech or declaration, or testimony, or call it what you will, but it becometh another thing. Now this toucheth the case in hand.

4. Consider that a person being brought before a judicatory, having power to judge and determine what is confessed and proven before them, yet out of mere malice and envy, finding the extent of their power not great enough to satisfy their lust, malice and envy, doth wrest, lye, malign, add and diminish from what hath been spoken before them, to make up a ground of judgment before another

another judicatory, before any thing was confest or proven, whose power is both distinct from, and of greater extent than theirs, *viz.* The one having power both of life and limb, and the other having power of neither.

5. Consider, how difficult the case is, a godless and inhumane adversary studies to make a man's principles and conscience to be the ground of his indictment, while both are regulate by the law, and the revealed will of God; and by this means endeavour to make a man his own accuser, contrary both to the law of God, the law of nature, and the law of nations; and by this means cause a man concur with them in calling his duty a sin, as they do contrary both to equity and justice; whereas they ought to prove what they alledge in such cases, where penury of witnesses cannot be instructed. *Acts xxiv. 13. Neither can they prove the things whereof they now accuse me.* As also our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, putteth his accusers to prove what they alledged against him, *Matth. xxvii. 11.* And thus by a non-confession he puts them to a probation, which appears verse 13.

6. Giving and not granting, that it were true which they alledge, *viz.* A legal denying upon the grounds and reasons aforesaid, which they call a lye, and a sin of such a high nature; yet this may stop their mouths, seeing they are the men, whom neither subscription, promises, nor oaths made and granted before God, angels and men, can bind and oblige, to the performance thereof, but have both subscribed and sworn the contrary. O how can such a generation of hypocrites escape the damnation of hell fire! who would snatch at so small a mote alledged by them to be in their neighbour's eye, and will not see nor cast out so big a beam out of their own eyes, which is so visible to the whole Christian world.

ACT of Council anent the Chancellor's Promise.

Edinburgh March 12. 1674.

THe lord commissioner his grace, and lords of his majesty's privy council, having appointed a committee to examine Mr. *James Mitchel*, prisoner in the tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, the said Mr. *James* being brought before the said committee, he did make a free and voluntary confession of his accession to the said rebellion and rising in arms in the West, and that after he had notice of the same, he went from *Edinburgh* with colonel *Wallace* and others, and was with the rebels there, and from thence came alongst and was with them until the night before the fight at *Pentland hills*, and that at the desire of captain *Arnot* he came then to *Edinburgh*, to speak to some persons concerning them, and being examined upon the attempt made upon the person of the archbishop of *St Andrews*, and who shot the pistol at the said archbishop, when the bishop of *Orkney* was hurt, in the month of *January* 1668. he did declare that the time, and the day that the said attempt was made, he was in the town of *Edinburgh*, and that he had bought the pistol, which was about him charged with three balls, when he was apprehended, about the time when the bishop was shot, from *Alexander Logan* dag-maker in *Leith Wynd*, but refused, he was the person that made the attempt, until having retired apart with one of the said committee, he did confess, upon his knees, that he was the person, upon assurance given him by one of the committee, as to his life, who had warrant from the commissioner and council to give the same, and did thereafter confess freely before all that were at the said committee, that he shot the said pistol at the said archbishop, and did subscribe his confession in presence of the said committee, which is also subscribed by them. And thereafter the said Mr. *James* in presence of the said commissioner his grace, and council, did renew and adhere to the said confession, as to his accession to the rebellion and attempt aforesaid, and acknowledged he made the said attempt, because that
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the said archbishop had a hand in troubling and persecuting those that were in the rebellion; and nevertheless being brought before the lords commissioners of the justiciary, and asked, if he owned the said confession, he did altogether refuse to answer and adhere to the said confessions, notwithstanding he was told by the said commissioners of the justiciary, and his majesty's advocate, that if he would adhere to his said confessions, he should have the benefit of the said assurance, and if otherwise, he should loose the same. The lord commissioner his grace, and the lords of his majesty's privy council, do declare, that they are free. And that the said Mr. *James* ought not to have the benefit of any such promise or assurance, and that the same is altogether void, and that the lords of the justiciary and assizers ought to proceed without any respect to the same. And further do declare, that the said Mr. *James Mitchel* is that person intended and mentioned in the proclamation in the years 1668, and 1669, discharging any intercommuning with the rebels therein mentioned, and excepting the said Mr. *James*, and other persons therein mentioned, from his majesty's favour and indemnity, and no other name of Mr. *James Mitchel*, though there had been any other of that name involved in the said rebellion.

*A LETTER to Mr. JAMES MITCHEL.**Dear Brother,*

THOUGH I be much uncertain if this line shall find a passage to you, yet having the occasion of a bearer, that I suppose will endeavour to get it to you, I would not fail to let you know, that we were much refreshed to hear how the Lord helped you to be faithful in that sharp piece of trial. Doubtless the men that thirst for blood, will be still endeavouring to have your blood into their cup: but if he hath not said it, whose thoughts take place in all generations, and whose determinations stand fast and

and cannot be controlled, *They shall labour in vain, though they labour in the very fires.* However, it will be no disadvantage to you, to be presupposing the worst; only comfort yourself with this, that he who hath helped, can yet help; his arm is yet not shortned: and who can tell but God may be more glorified in poor Mr. *James Mitchel*, whom many of our wise dons may look upon as half distracted. Stand fast in his truth and in his strength, and as hitherto he hath not deserted any that were willing to witness a good confession and cause, so may you through grace expect by faith the same supply of assistance, and through-bearing grace. And if herein you be helped, you are blessed that ever you had a life to quit for that cause and interest, and being lent you, to give it back on so noble terms. Alas! Christ's truth is in no great request now a-days: But the greater is your honour that are helped to witness for despised truth, and witness for it, when it is fallen in the streets. Commit your matters wholly to him, and wait by faith for his counsel and conduct, so shall you be safe. Justice you can hardly expect, but in this you are not the first, and it may be, shall not be the last. I think they thirst now for blood more than ever, and it may be, the time be approaching, when *God shall give them blood to drink, for they are worthy.* The God of peace be with you. I hope you shall not be forgotten by him, who is,

Rotterdam, Your Brother in the Lord Jesus Christ,
October 8. J. B.

The humble SUPPLICATION of ELIZABETH SOMMERVILL, the poor Wife of the sentenced Mr. JAMES MITCHEL.

Unto the right honourable the lords of his majesty's privy council,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT whereas your supplicant's husband was, upon *Thursday* last, by the lords commissioners of his majesty's justiciary, sentenced to die upon *Friday* next, the 18th day of *January* instant, and that it cannot be otherways conceived, but in nature and humanity, your supplicant hath an ardent desire to see her husband, and to take her long farewell of him before he die, which at present she cannot do, nor will she be able to do betwixt and the said day, in respect of her present case and condition, it not being above twelve days since she was brought to bed of a child, and presently affected with a fever, and where-through she will be disappointed and frustrate of that her only worldly desire, and thereby may be brought to the grave as soon as her husband, unless your lordships graciously prevent the same.

May it therefore please your lordships, for the love of Christ, mercifully to consider the premises, and be graciously pleased to reprieve the foresaid sentence for such a time, as your gracious lordships shall think expedient, that your poor indulgent supplicant my be in that space capable to see her said husband, and take her last farewell of him, and your supplicant shall ever pray.

ELIZABETH SOMMERVILL.

*Mr. JAMES MITCHEL's Last SPEECH,
but being interrupted by the beating of drums he
threw it over the Scaffold.*

Christian People, Edinr. Tolb. Jan. 18 1678.

IT being rumored abroad immediately after I had received my sentence, that I would not get liberty to speak in this place, therefore I had not prepared a formal discourse, and account of these pretended crimes, for which I was accused and sentenced; neither did I think it very necessary, the fame of my process having gone so much abroad, that by a former indictment given me near four years since, the diet whereof was suffered to desert, in respect the late advocate could not find a just way to reach me, with that extrajudicial confession they opposed unto me. All know he was zealous in it, yet my charity is such unto him, that he would not suffer unwarantable zeal so far to blind him, as to overstretch all laws of the land beyond their due limits, in prejudice of the life of any natural subject; and next by an extreme enquiry of torture; and then by exiling me to the *Bass*; and after all, giving me a new indictment, at the instance of the advocate, who before was one of mine, when I received the first indictment; to which new indictment and debate in that process I remit you; and particularly to these two defences of extrajudicial confession, and to the promise of life given to me thereupon by my lord chancellor, upon his own, and the publick faith of the kingdom; upon the verity whereof I am ready to die, and consent to lay down my life. And I hope, your charity will be such to me (a dying man) as not to misconstrue me therein, especially when it is so notourly administered by an act of the secret council, and yet denied upon oath by the principal officers of state, present
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in council at the making of the said act, and which the act bears to have been present thereat; the duke of *Lauderdale* being then his majesty's commissioner: and which act of council was by the lords of justiciary their interloquitor most illegally repelled; but I shall have charity to some of these lords, whom I knew would have given law and justice place, even as to my just absolution, if they had not been overpowered by the plurality of votes of these who were over-awed and dared by the lords of the secret council. But that will not absolve their consciences at the last day.

As to my advocates and lawyers, I ingenuously acknowledge their care, fidelity and zeal in my defence, and which, I hope, shall be some standing fame to them for this, and all future generations. So thus much as a short account of that affair, for which I am brought unjustly to this place. But I acknowledge my particular and private sins have been such, as have merited a worse death unto me, but I die in the hope of the merits of Jesus Christ, to be freed from these eternal punishments due to me for sin; yet I am confident, God doth not plead with me in this for my private and particular sins; but I am brought here, that the work of God may be made manifest, and for the trial of faith, *John. ix. 3. and 1 Pet. i. 7.* and that I may be a witness for his despised truth and interest in his land, who am called to seal the same with my blood. And I wish heartily that thus my poor life may put an end to the persecution of the true members of Christ in this kingdom, so much cheated by these perfidious Prelates, and in opposition to whom, and in testimony of the cause of Christ, I at this time willingly lay down my life. And I thank God that he hath thought me so worthy as to do the same for his glory and interest. Finally, conceiving it a Christian duty in a singular and extraordinary case anent my particular
judg-

judgment concerning both church and state, it is evidently declared and manifested more fully elsewhere; so farewell all earthly enjoyments, and welcome Father, Son, and holy Spirit, into whose hands I commit my spirit. *Sic subscribitur,*

JAMES MITCHEL.

The last WORDS of

JAMES LEARMONT,

Being to die this day, the 27th of Sept. 1678.

Men and Brethren,

I Am called here this day to lay down my life, I hope as one whom the Lord will own as a witness to the born-down cause and truth, that now in this hour and power of darkness is unjustly oppressed, although one of the least and unworthiest of all that the Lord hath called to seal his truth with blood, yet I am called and honoured here in your audience to declare, before I die, that I adhere to that work of reformation from Popery, Prelacy and profanity, heresy, and all manner of ungodliness abounding in these loose times, as the fruit of breaking down of the hedge of government, occasioned by the coming in of that unjust usurpation of the crown of Jesus Christ, and putting it upon the head of a mortal man, whose breath is in his nostrils. I also adhere to the church of *Scotland*, as it was governed by a *general assembly* lawfully constitute by *synods, presbyteries* and *kirk-sessions*, as the only hedge appointed of God, if well approven, to hold out the wild beasts out of his vineyard. I adhere also to the *National Covenant*, and *Solemn League and Covenant*, to the *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins*, the *Confession of Faith*, the *Larger and Shorter Catechisms*, to the despised way of preaching of the gospel, the

receiv-

receiving of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, from the lawfully ordained and called ministers of the gospel, who are forced to the fields, because of persecution from those who were never friends to the church of Christ, or his church in this nation, I mean these lord prelates, who contrary to the rule, lord it over the consciences of the inheritance of the Lord. Also I declare, I die free of the blood of all men, especially the blood of that man, for which I am unjustly condemned to die this day, as the assize did find me not guilty of his blood, whatsoever seemed to be alledged to the contrary, to the lords who passed sentence against me, without any just ground as from them; and there is a day, wherein the righteous Judge will judge again, when he makes inquisition for blood, and will call to account all the bloodshed of the saints, that is dear in his sight. As for *Alexander Maitland* who apprehended me, my blood lies directly at his door, who promised me then, that nothing should reach my life, as he swore by faith and conscience, and his brother is also guilty of my blood, who hath much pursued after my blood. I desire the Lord to give them repentance, and mercy, if it be possible. And as for the archbishops, I charge my blood upon them, with all the blood of the innocent sufferers in this cause, which by their means and their associates have been shed, and all the other sufferings the covenanted people of the Lord has been put to, all which cries for just revenge from the righteous Lord and Judge of all. I have my mind more fully exprest in another paper, that is more large, all which I subscribe as a dying man, who am to appear immediately before the righteous Judge, I hope to receive the sentence, *Well done faithful servant, enter into your Master's joy*, though not by my merit, but through the merits and purchase of Christ. So farewell all enjoyments

ments in time, farewell sun, moon, and stars, farewell all ordinances, and welcome precious Christ.

Sic subscribitur,

JAMES LEARMONT.

The large SPEECH of
JAMES LEARMONT,
 Being his last WORDS.

At Edinburgh, the 27th day of *Sept.* 1678.

Men and Brethren,

I Am come here this day to lay down my life, and I bless the Lord I die with a willing heart, and a chearful mind, as being conscious to myself before God, angels and men, that I am most innocent of that man's blood, for which I am condemned to die, I am as free as the child new born, and that I had neither art nor part in taking of his life, as was proven before the justice-court, and the assize declared me not guilty of the foresaid blood; but after the assizers declaration, some of the lords thirsting after my blood, unjustly passed sentence to take my life. It was also proved before the justificiary-court, that all the weapons I had, was only a wand in my hand. And also it was proved, that when the man was killed, I was at great distance from the place; only this is all they charge on me, that I should have spoken such words to provoke the meeting, to fall upon the party that came to interrupt the worship of God, and to scatter the meeting; yet God is my witness, before whom I must shortly appear, that I had no intention for blood, but only for our own defence, being violently pursued, to hinder us in following the service of God upon his own day, and being upon our own just self-defence, and the defence of the gospel. I hope none can deny, much less Christians, that it

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was not out of contempt of lawful authority, but that it was grievous to me to see the work of the Lord hindred, and his day profaned. Therefore, my dear friends, I do here declare to you all, as the words of a dying man, that I desire to bless the Lord, altho' that I be but a poor wretched sinner of myself, by reason of my original and actual transgressions, yet I have reason again and again to bless and magnify the Lord, that it hath pleased his gracious Majesty so far to condescend to manifest himself to me, as not only to shew me my misery, but also to call me, and *reveal Christ by his grace in me*; also I bless the Lord, that hitherto he hath kept me from all scandalous sins that are reigning and raging in these times, and the Lord hath made out that word to my experience, *2 Pet. i. 3, 4, 5. According as his divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain to life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and virtue, whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be made partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust; and besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, &c. for if these things be in you and abound, they make you, that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.* My friends, I earnestly desire you, that you would not stumble at the cross of Christ, and his despised gospel, because of my sufferings, and especially ye that are dear to me in *East Lothian*; for since I have received this sentence of death, I have found his gracious presence and love manifested to my soul, in sustaining both me and my cross; for he hath made out that to me, that he sends none a warfare upon their own charges. Ye may also call to mind that scripture, *Philip. i. 27. to the end. Only let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel,*

that whether I come and see you, or be absent, I may hear of your affairs; that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the gospel, and in nothing be terrified by your adversaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition, but unto you of salvation, and that of God. For unto you is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake, having the same conflict ye saw in me, and now hear to be in me. I also bless the Lord, that I am a member of the church of Scotland, which was once one of the purest and best reformed churches for doctrine, government, discipline, and worship, according to the word of God, as it is exprest in the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and that blessed work of reformation so far once advanced, though now brought low by the usurpation of the crown which belongs only to Jesus Christ, as head of his church; to all which truths I adhere, and resolves thro' the Lord's grace and strength to seal the same with my blood; particularly, I adhere to the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, as we are all sworn therein, against all *Popery*, *Prelacy*, and all the corruptions thereon depending. As also I adhere to the Solemn League and Covenant, as a holy contrivance of the holy Lord for the three kingdoms in an holy harmony and union, for the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world, and I die in the faith of it, that however this blessed work of reformation be brought low, yet the Lord in his own time, who is king and captain of salvation, shall make it glorious and renowned in the eyes of the world, in despite of all adversaries whatsoever. Tho' it please the Lord to let them triumph and insult for a time, yet he will defend and revive his own work, and the spirits of his own oppressed remnant also in these barren places; the seed of the gospel that hath

hath been sown in *East Lothian* shall have a spring season and an harvest in despite of devils and men, to the glory of God, and the comfort of his own people. Therefore I do here give my testimony against all persecutors of the Lord's people and interest, in this sad time of defection; I also testify against all these that have intruded themselves into the calling of the ministry, and upon the labours of his faithful sent servants. And I give my testimony against all apostates and indifferent lukewarm professors, who only follow Christ as the times make for them. Likewise, I give my testimony against all profane, profligate wicked livers, who carry themselves so as if there were not a God, all whose damnation slumbers not, except it please the Lord to give them repentance and mercy. I also desire the Lord to make *Alexander Maitland* sensible, who first apprehended me, who promised upon his faith and conscience, that he would not see me wronged, at whose door and his brothers, lies immediately my innocent blood, and that they may repent for the same. I desire the Lord to shew them mercy, and freely forgive them. And as for the magistrates of *Haddington*, they are not free of my blood; I wish the Lord may make them sensible thereof, and give them repentance. Also, I declare my blood lieth at the bishop of *St. Andrews* his door, to stand against him; for since I received this sentence of death, it hath been frequently brought to my ears, that he pressed the king's advocate to take my life, altho' he needed not for want of malice, *Isai. xxvi. 11.* Lord, when thy hand is lifted up, they will not see, but they shall see, and be ashamed for their envy at thy people; yea, the fire of thine enemies shall devour them. *Rev. vi. 10.* And they cried with a loud voice, and said, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth: And I hope my blood shall still cry

to the Lord against them, with all the innocent blood that hath been shed for the truth. I here ~~most~~ freely, before I go hence (without desire of revenge upon the forenamed persons, or any other, who have been the occasion of my bloodshedding, now in my last words, after the example of my Lord and Master) say, as is mentioned in that scripture, *Luke xxiii. 34. And Jesus said, Father forgive them, for they know not what they do, and they parted his garments, and cast lots, &c.*

My dear friends, I give my testimony against that calumny cast upon Presbyterians, that they are seditious and disloyal persons; the which aspersion I do abhor. Therefore, I exhort all people, that they will shew loyalty to the king, and all lawful magistrates, and all their just and lawful commands, in so far as their commands agree with the word of God. I also desire all the Lord's people to continue faithful and persevere to the end; for only such shall be saved. I also request you for the Lord's sake, be straight in the matters of God, which are of so high concernment, as the glory of our dearest Lord and Master, for God will not be mocked, *Isa. xxviii. 22. Now therefore be ye not mockers, lest your bands be made strong; for I have heard from the Lord God of hosts, even a consumption determined upon the whole earth.* And do not halt between two opinions; and let that scripture be always before you, and lay it to mind, *Rev. xiv. 4. These are they that have not been defiled with women, for they are virgins: these are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth; these were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits unto God, and to the Lamb.* Likewise, take notice of the word, *All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution.* But again, precious Christ comforteth his followers with these words, *John xvi. last verse, These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have*

have peace, in the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. And this I must say to the commendation of our blessed Lord, that in my experience I have found that scripture verified to me, *Prov. iii. 17. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.* Although to flesh and blood the cross of Christ be irksome, yet to the renewed part *Christ's yoke is easy, and his burden light*; as it is *Mat. xi. 28.* to the end, *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.* My brethren, but especially of *East Lothian*, do not fear at the precious cross of Christ Jesus for my suffering, for I can assure you, Christ's cross is beautiful, and fruitful, and not to be stumbled at, as it is *Isa. xxvii. 8.* If ye take it on you willingly, and draw kindly in it, it shall be the heartfomest work in the world, to work and the cross upon your back, for he will bear you and it both, as I have found it in my experience, ever since I began to seek his face, but especially since he called me to the hardest task; but no task is hard that he hath called me unto: But I may say, what am I, or my Father's house, or any of the lost posterity of *Adam*, *Psal. viii. 2, 3, 4.* *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast ordained strength, because of the enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and avenger. When I consider thy heavens, and the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained: What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him?* That such an holy One as he, should have singled out such a poor silly man as I, out of that country side wherein I lived, and that he should have honoured me, by calling me to lay down my life for adhering and following of him in

the way of duty, in countenancing his despised gospel and persecuted cause, now preached in the fields, by his lawfully called servants, whereby he hath sealed to my soul, that he owns these field meetings, and doth tryst with his friends there, as I have found in a singular manner both in word and sacraments, as I have found it to my comfort at *East Nisbit* in the *Merse*, 1 Cor. i. 13. *for the preaching of the cross is to them that perish, foolishness; but unto them that are saved, it is the power of God; and there he dealt bountifully with his friends, as in Isai. xxvii. 7.* I hope ere long the following words of the forenamed chapter shall be made out to me, and I shall enjoy him to all eternity. Be exhorted to follow this way of the Lord though unjustly reproached in that calumny of sedition and rebellion. And again, I exhort you to follow Christ in the use of all his commanded services both in public and private, cost what they will. As *Mat. x. 37, 38, 39.* — *He that saveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it.* As for my part, now in my last words, I declare, if all the hairs of my head were men, I would willingly lay them down with my life, for owning my Master Jesus Christ, and his cause in the field meetings, when you cannot get the liberty of an house as formerly, where his goings hath been seen in the sanctuary to his people in their wilderness condition these sixteen years and upwards, as he hath promised to his people, *Ezek. xi. 16.* *Yet will I be to them a little sanctuary in the countries where they shall come.* And I die in the faith of it, that God will come, and countenance and own these who venture most for him. Therefore, my beloved, let not the fear of man prevail, but fear him who can kill both soul and body, *Luke xii. 4, 5.* *Fear not him that can kill the body, but fear him that after he hath killed the body, hath power to cast into hell.* *Isa. li. 12, 13.* *Be not afraid*

of man that shall die, and where is the fury of the oppressor. Consider for your encouragement what our Lord hath suffered for his elect, *Isai. liii. throughout. Luke xxii. 44. And being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly, and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood; and mind what will follow, Rev. ii. 4. Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Luke xxii. 28. Ye are they which have continued with me in my tentations, and I appoint unto you a kingdom. As that chapter hath been oft sweet to me, press towards the mark, and sink not; as it is, Psal. lxxiii. 1. Truly God is good to Israel, Isa. xl. 29. to the end. He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might. John xiv. 1, 2, 3. Let not your heart be troubled, I go to prepare a place for you, that where I am there ye may be also. And all the viiith chap. to the Romans, hath oft comforted me; yea, the Lord who hath the tongue of the learned, hath spoke a word in due season to me, which words have been as apples of gold in pictures of silver. There is not a moment of our time, but we must depend on him, and to all such needy dependants he will make out that word, 2 Cor. xii. 9. My grace is sufficient for thee. John xvi. 13. When the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth. And at the close of the warfare, God will make out these sweet words, 1 Cor. xv. 54. Death is swallowed up in victory. Job xix. 25, 26. I know that my Redeemer liveth; and though after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God. Psal. xvii. 5. As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness. Psal. xvi. 8. to the end. In thy presence is fulness of joy, and at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore. Psal. xxx. 5. In his favour is life; weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning. Ver. 11, 12. Thou hast turned my mourning into dancing, to the end that my glory may sing praise unto thee. Rev. iii. 12. Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in*

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the temple of my God. Chap. vii. 10. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God, and to the Lamb. Chap. xix. 7. For the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready. Isa. xxxiii. last. And the inhabitants shall not say, I am sick. I shall end here with these words, Rom. viii. 17. 18. If so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together: For I reckon, that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be accounted or compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us. 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteousness. Rev. xxii. 20. Surely I come quickly. Amen, even so come Lord Jesus.

Sic subscribitur,

JAMES LEARMONT.

The SPEECH of the
Faithful and pious Servant of Jesus Christ

Mr. J O H N K I D,

Minister of the gospel, who suffered at *Edinburgh*,
the 14th day of *August* 1679.

Right worthy and well beloved spectators and auditors,

CONsidering the bodily distempers I have been exercised under since I came out of the torture, viz. scarce two hours out of my naked bed in one day, it cannot be expected I should be in case for saying any thing to purpose, in such a juncture, especially, seeing I am not as yet free of it; however, I cannot but reverence the good hand of God upon me for good, and desires with all my soul to bless him for this present lot.

It may be, there are a great many here, that judge my lot very sad and deplorable, I must confess

self's death in itself is very terrible to flesh and blood, but as it is an outlet to sin, and an inlet to righteousness, it is the Christian's great and inexpressible privilege.

And give me leave to say this, I. That there is something in a Christian's condition, that can never put him without the reach of unsufferableness, even shame, death, and the cross being included. And then if there be peace betwixt God and the soul, nothing can damp peace through our Lord Jesus Christ; it is a supporting ingredient in the bitterest cup, and under the sharpest and fireiest trial he can be exposed unto. This is my mercy, I have somewhat of this to lay claim unto, *viz.* The intimations of pardon betwixt God and my soul. And as concerning that for which I am condemned, I magnify his grace, that I never had the least challenge for it, but on the contrary, judges it my honour that ever I was counted worthy to be staggered upon such a consideration.

II. Another thing that renders the most despicable sufferings of Christians, and mine sufferable, and that is a felt and sensible presence from the Lord, strengthening the soul, when most put to it. And if I could have this for my allowance this day, I could be bold to say, *O death, where is thy sting?* And would but cry out, Welcome to it, and all that follows upon it. I grant, the Lord from an act of sovereignty may come and go as he pleases, but yet he will never forsake his people, and this is a cordial to me in the case I am now exposed unto.

III. The exercising and putting forth of his glorious power, is able to transport the soul of the believer and mine above the reach of all sublunary difficulties; and therefore seeing I have hope to be kept by this power, I would not have you to look upon my lot, or any other that is, or may be in my case, in the least deplorable; seeing we have
ground

ground to believe, that in more or less he will perfect his power and strength in weakness.

IV. That I may come a little nearer to the purpose in hand, I declare before you all, in the sight of God, angels and men, and in the sight of that sun, and all that he has created, that I am a most miserable sinner, in regard of my original and actual transgressions: I must confess they are more than the hairs upon my head, and altogether past reckoning: I cannot but say, as *Jacob* said, *I am less than the least of all God's mercies*, yet I must declare to the commendation of the freedom of his grace made known, and that by a strong hand, and dare not but say, *He has loved me, and washed me in his own blood from mine iniquity*; and well's me this day, that ever I heard or read that faithful saying, *Jesus Christ came into the world, to save sinners, of whom I am chief*.

V. I must also declare in his sight, I am the most unworthy that ever opened the mouth to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ in the gospel; yea, the sense of this made me altogether unwilling to fall about so great a work, until by the importunity of some, whose names are precious and savoury to me, and to many others, I was prevailed with, to fall about it: And howbeit out of great weakness I went about it; yet I am hopeful not altogether without some fruit: And if I durst say it without vanity, I never found so much of the presence of God upon my spirit, as I have found in exercises of that nature, though I must still confess, attended with unexpressible weakness. And this is the main thing for which I must lay down my tabernacle this day, to wit, That I did preach Christ and the gospel in several places; for which I bless him, as I can, that ever such a poor obscure person as I am, have been thus privileged by him, for mention making of his grace, as I was able.

VI. Give me leave to add this word, that though there be great appearance for the spreading and preaching this glorious gospel, yet I fear there be a snare at the bottom, and poison in the dish, which may gender, and be productive of not only greater scarcity of honest preaching and preachers, but a real famine of the word. This, I say, is my fear, and I hope God will keep his servants from fomenting any thing to the detriment of the gospel.

VII. I am also afraid, the Lord is intending to multiply his strokes upon the land. We have walked seven times contrary to him, and therefore we may lay our account (unless repentance prevent it) that he will walk seven times contrary to us: There is more than ground to fear, that a sword is bathed in heaven, a glittering sword sharpened, and furnished against thee, O guilty and harlot Scotland.

VIII. For that other clause in mine indictment, upon which my sentence of death is formed, viz. Personal presence twice or thrice with that party, whom they called the rebels. For my own part, I never judged them, nor called them such. I acknowledge, and do believe, there were a great many there, that came in the simplicity of their own hearts, like those that followed *Abshalom* long ago. I am as sure on the other hand, that there was a great party there, that had nothing before them, but the repairing of the Lord's fallen work, and the restoring of the breach, which is wide as the sea; and I am apt to think, that such of these, who were most branded with mistakes, will be found to have been most single; But for rebellion against his majesty's person, or lawful authority, the Lord knows my soul abhorreth it, name and thing: Loyalty I have been, and wills every Christian to be so; and I was ever of this judgment, to give to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*, and to God the things that are God's,

IX. Since

IX. Since I came to prison I have been much branded with many things, which I must call aspersions, whereof Jesuitism is one. I am hopeful there were never any that did converse with me that had the least ground for laying this to my charge: and I know not how it is come to pass, to cast it upon me, except implacable prejudice, that some have been prepossessed with against me. I am not ignorant that near two years ago, a person of some note in this church, while living, was pleased to say, That I had died in that judgment, after he was better informed, he changed his note, and said, it was misinformation. But now the Lord, before whom I must stand and be judged by and by, knows, I have a perfect abhorrence of that thing, and that was never my temptation, directly nor indirectly; though I must confess, some few years ago some were very pressing with me, that I might conform and embrace Prelacy; but for Popery, and that trash, it came never nearer my heart, nor the Pope's conclave, and the Alcoran, which my soul abhors.

X. I have been also branded with factiousness, divisive and seditious preaching and practices. I must confess, if it be so, it was more than ever I was aware of. According to the measure God has given me, it was my endeavour to commend Christ to the hearts and souls of the people, even repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the word of God, Confession of Faith, and Catechisms Larger and Shorter. Yea, I did press them also, when God did cast it into my way, to remember their sworn covenant, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government; and that they would make it their work to stand to it in substance and circumstance; seeing it is so cried down in this day, and if this be divisive preaching, I cannot deny it.

XI. I am pressed in conscience to bear my testimony and abhorrence of every invasion, usurpation and encroachment that is made, or has been made against Christ's royal prerogative, crown and kingdom, originate upon, and derivate from that which they call the supremacy. I was never free to say a confederacy with those, I judge, has in a great part said a confederacy with that thing. And the Lord is my record, I was never free in my conscience for that, that is called the *Indulgence*, neither *first* nor *second*, as it was tendered by the council, and as it was embraced by a great many godly and pious men in this land. Yea, it was never lawful nor expedient to me: And in effect, this is one of the main grounds, why I am rendered obnoxious to so many imputations, that I have been all alongst contrary to that *Indulgence* in my judgment. I confess, I have been of that judgment, and I die in my judgment contrary to it: and this I crave leave to say, without any offence given to the many godly and learned that are of another judgment.

XII. I judge it fit likewise in this case to leave my testimony against that stent, taxation and cess, that has been so unjustly imposed, so irrelevantly founded, and vigorously carried on by the abettors of that convention, and merely upon no other account imaginable, but to a final extirpation of Christ and his gospel-ordinances out of these lands: and how lamentable is it to consider, how many professors did willingly pay it, and were most for inciting others to do the same.

In the next place, though to many I die desired, yet I know to not a few my death is not desired; and it is the rejoicing of my heart, that I die in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath loved me, and given himself for me, and in the faith of the prophets and apostles; and in this faith, that there is not a name under heaven by which men shall

shall be saved, but by the name of Jesus, and in the faith of the doctrine, and worship, &c. of the kirk of *Scotland*, as it is now established according to the word of God, Confessions of Faith, Catechisms larger and shorter, &c. Likeas, I join my testimony, against Popery and perjury, profanity, Prelacy, heresy, supremacy, and every thing contrary to sound doctrine.

1. In the close, as a dying person, and as one who has obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful, I would humbly leave it upon godly ministers, to be faithful for their Lord and Master, and not to hold their peace in such a day, when so many ways are taken for the injuring of him, - his name, way, sanctuary, ordinances, crown and kingdom. I hope there will be found a party in the land, that will contend for him, and his matters, upon all hazards. And as faithfulness is called for in ministers, so they would concern themselves, that they countenance not, nor abet any thing that is inconsistent with former principles and practice. Let the land consider how neutral and indifferent we are grown in the matters of God, even like *Ephraim* long ago, *a cake not turned*, which is upon the matter contrary to, and inconsistent with our solemn sworn covenants.

2. Next, how far we are fallen from our first love, how far we are degenerate from that noble vine into which the Lord did once plant us, how lamentable is it? How far we are gone in the way of *Egypt*, drinking the waters of *Sichar*.

3. Again, what a woful cursed spirit of bitterness is predomining in this land and in this age, *Ephraim* vexing *Judah*, and *Judah* *Ephraim*, *Manasseh* *Ephraim*, and *Ephraim* *Manasseh*; the growing doggedness of this temper almost amongst us all, portends terrible things from the Lord against *Scotland*.

4. Reformation according to our sworn covenants, neither designed nor practised, what means

all this deformity, that is come to pass in these days instead of the contrary? how many of us are pulling down that which we have been building up? how many of us calling good evil, and evil good, disowning and disavouching that which sometime we judged our honour to testify for, and to avouch?

5. A publick spirit in contending for God in his matters, in substance and circumstance, according to our vows and obligations, is much amissing amongst us this day.

Further, I. I am prest in conscience to make honourable mention of all these great and glorious things that God has done in *Scotland*, since the year 1638, the abundaht measure of his Spirit that was poured out upon his servants and people at the renewing of the National Covenant twice in that year, and once in the year following: the blessed efficacy that the gospel had at that time in all corners of the land, and the great things that followed upon it, which while improven, made our land desirable.

II. I bear my testimony to the Solemn League and Covenant, as it was prest and sworn in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* 1643, yea, as it was timed and taken by the representatives and body of these three lands, which tie is binding, and can by no power on earth be infringed, whether secular or ecclesiastic, and that it was our glory to be counted a people married to the Lord from one generation to another, from henceforth and for ever. So that Prelacy, as it is now established by a pretended law, is down-right destructive to that sworn covenant; yea, and not only Prelacy, Popery, malignancy and heresy, but the supremacy, and every thing originate upon and derivate from it.

III. I cannot but make mention of that honourable and noble practice, that this land was privileged with, viz. after two defections, the Lord
put

put it into the heart of both state and church to renew these covenants once again, *viz.* both the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant together with an Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties, and that in the close of the year, which performance was attended with so much of the Lord's power and presence, that it was like a resurrection from the dead to all that were witnesses, yea, to both speakers and hearers, that many were forced to cry out, The joy of the Lord is our strength, God, of a truth, is here.

IV. I dare not but add this in the case wherein I now stand, *viz.* I cannot but add my concurrence with, and adherence to all these publick testimonies, protestations and declarations, that have been owned, evinced, and emitted by all the Presbyterian ministers and professors of old and of late, since this work began; and particularly, I dare not but join my approbation of, and adherence to the testimony and protestation of these renowned and eminently worthy gentlemen, ministers and professors that appeared against the publick resolutions, for taking in the malignant party into judicatories and armies, as also I join my cordial adherence to, and with them that protested against the two pretended assemblies at *St. Andrews* and *Dundee*, who endeavoured to approve what the commission had done in the year 1650, and 1651, in reference to the intrusting the malignant party, which, as was said by the protesting worthies, laid the foundation to all that is come, or may come upon us. I hope this will not offend any.

V. I am bound in conscience likewise in the next place to testify my dislike and abhorrence of that cruel, horrid and barbarous unheard of, and unparalleled deportment and practice of that act rescissory, wherein at one dash, by an act of that precipitant parliament, they endeavoured to rescind, annul,

nul, and expel all these great and glorious things, that the strong hand of the Lord had done in *Scotland*, for more than twenty years bygone, over the belly of so much opposition, and standing contradiction of proclaimed and avowed adversaries upon all hands, yea, I proclaim my abhorrence of all the confusions, blood and murder, fining, confining, imprisonment, stigmatizings, with all other inexpressible cruelties that have issued from that cursed act these nineteen years bygone. And moreover, I leave my testimony against all other confusions, imprisonment and blood, that is or may be intended against these of the land that desire to keep their garments clean, whether in prison, or out of prison.

VI. As concerning that which is the ground of my death, *viz.* preaching here and there in some corners. I bless my God, I have not the least challenge for it, and though these that condemned me are pleased to call such preachings rendezvous of rebellion, yet I must say this of them, they were so far from being reputed such in my eyes, that if ever Christ had a people, or party, wherein his soul took pleasure, I am bold to say, these meetings were a great part of them; the shining and glory of our God was eminently seen amongst these meetings, the convincing power and authority of our Lord went out with his servants, in these blasphemously nicknamed conventicles. This I say, without reflection upon any. I have a word to add further, That God is calling persons to repentance, and to do their first works. O that *Scotland* were a mourning land, and that reformation were our practice, according as we are sworn in the covenant.

Again, Christians of grace and experience would study more straightness and stability in this day, when so many are turning to the right, and many to the left hand; *but he that endures to the end shall be saved;*

saved: He hath appointed the crown and kingdom for such as continue with him in his tentations.

Next, as ever ye expect to have the form of the house shewed you, all the laws thereof, goings out thereof, and comings in thereof, then think it no shame to take shame to you, for all that hath been done; sitting down this side *Jordan* is like to be our bane. O when shall we get up and after him with all our heart, and never rest till he return.

I recommend my poor wife, and young one, to the care and faithfulness of the God of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*; the God that hath fed me to this day, and who is the God of my salvation, be their God and my God, their father and my father. I am hopeful that christian friends and relations will not be unmindful of them when I am gone.

Lastly, I leave my testimony to the cross of Christ, and blesses him that ever he counted me worthy to appear for him in such a lot as this: all glory to him that ever I heard tell of him, and that ever he fell upon such a method of dealing with me as this; and therefore let none that love Christ, and his righteous cause, be offended in me. And as I have lived in the faith of this, that the three kingdoms are married lands; so I die in the faith of it, that there will be a resurrection of his name, word, cause, covenants, and of all his interests therein, tho' I dare not determine the time when, nor the manner how, but leaves all these things to the infinitely wise God who hath done, and will do all things well. O that he would return to this land again, repair our breaches, take away our backslidings, and appear for his work! O! that he were pacified towards us! O! that he would pass by *Scotland* again, and make our time a time of love: Come Lord Jesus, come quickly, himself hasten it in his own time and way. *The Lord is my light, and my life; my joy, my song, and my salvation.* The God of his chosen be

mercy the day, and the enriching comforts of the holy Ghost keep me up, and carry me fair through, to the glory of his grace, to the edification of his people, and my own eternal advantage. *Amen.*

Sic subscribitur,

JOHN KID.

The last SPEECH of
Mr. J O H N K I N G,
Minister of the Gospel.

Men and Brethren,

I Do not doubt, but many that are spectators here, have some other end than to be edified by what they may see in the behaviour, and hear in the last words of one going into eternity. But if any of you have ears to hear, which I nothing doubt but some of this great gathering have, therefore I desire your ears and attention, if the Lord shall help, and permit, to speak a few things.

First, I bless the Lord since infinite Wisdom and holy providence hath so carved out my lot to die after this manner, that I die not unwillingly, neither by force. It is true, I could not do this of myself, nature having always an inclination to put the evil day far away, but thro' grace I have been helped, and by his grace, hopeful yet shall; and tho' possibly I might have shunned such an hard sentence, if I had done things, that, though I could, I durst not do, no not for my soul; yet I durst not, God knoweth, redeem my life by the loss of my integrity and honesty. I bless the Lord, that since I have been apprehended, and prisoner, God hath very wonderfully upholden me, and made out that comfortable word, *Fear not, be not dismayed; I am with thee, I will uphold thee by the right hand of my righteousness,*

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Isai.

Isai. xliiii. 10. I thank the Lord, he never gave me leave so much as to have a thought, much less to seek after any shift that might have been in the least sinful. I did always, and yet do judge it better to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season: Therefore I am come hither to suffer, and to lay down my life. I bless the Lord, I die not as a fool: tho' I acknowledge I have nothing to boast of myself; I acknowledge I am a sinner, and one of the chiefest that have gone under the name of a professor in religion, yea, amongst the unworthiest of those that have preached the gospel; my sins and corruptions have been many, and have defiled me in all things, and even in the doing and following of duty, I have not wanted my own sinful infirmities and weaknesses: so that I may justly say, I have no righteousness of mine own, all is vile like filthy rags. But blessed be God, that there is a Saviour for sinners, and an advocate, Jesus Christ the righteous; and I do believe, *Jesus Christ is come into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chiefest*; and that thro' faith in his righteousness I have obtained mercy; and that thro' him, and him only, I desire to hope for, and have an happy and glorious victory over sin, Satan, hell and death, and that I shall attain to the righteousness of the just, and be made partaker of eternal life. *I know in whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day*. I have in my poor capacity preached salvation in his name, and as I have preached, so do I believe; with all my soul I have commended, and yet I do commend to all of you the riches of his grace, and faith in his name, as the alone and only way whereby ye can be saved.

It may be, many may think, but I bless the Lord without any solid ground, that I suffer as an evil doer, and as a busy body in other mens matters, but

I reckon

I reckon not so much on that (having the testimony of my conscience) for it was the lot of our blessed Lord Jesus himself, and also the lot of many of his eminent precious servants and people, to suffer by the world as evil-doers; yea, I think, I have so far ground not to fear at such a lot, that I count it my non-such honour. And oh! What am I, that I should have been honoured so, when so many worthies have panted after the like, and have not come at it; and my soul rejoiceth in being brought into conformity with my blessed Lord and Head, and so blessed company in this way and lot. And I desire to pray, that I may be to none of you to-day a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence: And blessed is he that shall not be offended in Christ and his poor followers and members, because of being condemned by the world as evil-doers. As for these things for which sentence of death was past against me, I bless the Lord, my heart doth not condemn me. Rebellious I have not been, neither do I judge it to be rebellion, for me to have endeavoured, in my capacity, what possibly I could, for the ruined and born-down interest of our Lord and Master, and for the relief of my poor brethren afflicted and persecuted, not only in their liberties, privileges and persons, but also in their lives; therefore it was that I joined with that poor handful. The Lord knows, who is the searcher of hearts, that neither my design nor practice was against his majesty's person and just government; but I always intended to be loyal to lawful authority in the Lord. I thank God, my heart doth not condemn me of any disloyalty: I have been loyal, and do recommend it to all to be obedient to higher powers in the Lord. And that I preached at field-meetings, which is the other ground of my sentence. I am so far from acknowledging that the gospel preached that way, was a rendezvousing in rebellion, as it is termed, that I bless the Lord that

ever counted me worthy to be a witness to such meetings, which have been so wonderfully countenanced and owned, not only to the conviction, but even to the conversion of many thousands; yea, I do assert, that if the Lord hath had a purer church and people in this land than another, it hath been in and among these meetings in fields and houses, so much now despised by some, and persecuted by others. That I preached up rebellion and rising in arms against authority, I bless the Lord, my conscience doth not condemn me in this, it never being my design; if I could have preached Christ and salvation in his name, that was my work, and herein have I walked according to the light and rule of the Word of God, and as it did become, (tho' one of the meanest) a minister of the gospel.

I have been looked on by some, and misrepresented by others, that I have been of a divisive and factious humour, and one that stirred up division in the church; but I am hopeful, that ye will give me charity, being within a little to stand before my Judge, and I pray the Lord that he will forgive them that did so misrepresent me: But I thank the Lord, whatever men did say of me concerning this, that, upon the contrary, I have often dissuaded from such ways, and of this my conscience bears me witness. But here I would not have any to mistake me, as if I did approve of ways and practices contrary to the word of God, and our covenanted reformed religion. As I ever abhorred division and faction in the church, as that which tends to its utter ruin, if the Lord prevent it not; so I would in the bowels of my Lord and Master (if such a feckless one as I may presume) persuade and exhort both ministers and professors. *If there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels of mercy;—that ye be like minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind;—in lowliness of mind*

let each esteem others better than himself, Phil. ii. 1, 2, 3. Harmoniousness and oneness in the things of God can never enough be sought after, and harmony and unitedness in things that tend to the prejudice and hurt of Christ's interests, can never enough be fled from and avoided. And, as I am willing to lay down my tabernacle, so also I die in the faith of the holy Scriptures, and in the faith of the apostles and primitive Christians, and Protestant reformed churches, and particularly of this church of *Scotland*, whereof I am a poor member, that hath been so powerfully carried on against so much opposition, by the mighty power and goodness of God.

I bear my witness to the doctrine and worship, discipline and government of the church of *Scotland* by kirk-sessions and presbyteries, synods and general assemblies. As also, I bear my witness and testimony unto our solemn Covenants, National and Solemn League betwixt the three kingdoms, which sacred and solemn oaths, I believe, cannot be dispensed with, or loosed by any person or party upon the earth, but are still binding upon these nations, and will be so for ever hereafter. Also I bear my witness and testimony unto our public Confessions of Sins, and Engagements to Duties, and that either as to what concerns the reformation of our families or persons, or the reformation of the whole land in general; as also the causes of God's wrath, the rejecting of which is to be feared to be one of the greatest causes of God's wrath this day against our land. I also do bear witness and testimony to the protestation given in against the controverted Assemblies in their public resolutions, for bringing in the malignant party into places of power and trust, contrary to our solemn engagements and obligations to God. I also adhere to our Confessions of Faith, Shorter and Larger Catechisms. I bear witness and testimony against Popery, which is so

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greatly

greatly increased; yea, so much countenanced and professed openly by many, and that without the least punishment. I bear witness against that antichristian Prelacy, now established by a law, contrary to our vows to the almighty God; and against the rescinding of our solemn engagements and oaths, as a thing that calls for divine vengeance, and against all oaths and bonds contrary to our covenant and engagements, especially the oath of supremacy, the declaration against our covenant, and that bond called the *Bond of Peace*; and that horrid bond so frequently imposed against the meetings of his people in houses and fields, intended for the down-bearing of the gospel and interest of our Lord and Master, with all these bonds, public and private, contrary to our obligations and oaths to God. Also, against all such as connives at, complies with, or strengthens the hands of the malignant, prelatie and persecuting party; against all schism and heresy, contrary to our engagements with God, and especially against that ruining, and soul-deluding evil, or rather devilry, Quakerism, so much connived at, if not allowed and countenanced by many, whose office it is to restrain it. As also, against all the steps and courses of backsliding and defection, which has been and now is on foot in this land. And against all the branches and parts thereof, under whatsoever name or notion.

Moreover, I bear my testimony to all the testimonies given both formerly and of late by our suffering and banished witnesses, and to all the testimonies of our first witnesses, noblemen, gentlemen, and others, that have suffered in this city and kingdom, who chearfully laid down their lives with admirable divine assistance, and to all these who have laid down their lives, either formerly, or of late in the fields. As also, to all these who have sealed their testimonies either with forfeitures, imprisonment, or banishment on this account, score
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and quarrel. And particularly I bear my testimony against that horrid violation done to our Lord Jesus Christ, and that by usurping upon his royal prerogatives, and in spoiling him of his crown, sceptre, sword and royal robe, by taking the princely ornaments to invest a man, whose breath is in his nostrils, through that woful supremacy so much applauded, and universally owned; even by such, of whom better things might be expected; I mean the indulged, and such as countenance them in that way, even to the ruining and renting of the church, which is also too, too evident by sad and doleful experience. As also, I leave my testimony against this cess imposed by the late convention of estates, whereby the enemies of Christ and his church are supplied with all necessities, for the utter extirpating of the interest of Christ in this church.

There is one thing more I would say, the Lord seems to be very wroth with this land; the causes are many. 1. The dreadful slights our Lord Jesus has received in the offers of his gospel. 2. The horrid profanity that has overpassed the whole land, that not only religion in its exercise, but even common civility is gone. 3. The horrid perjury in the matters of our vows and engagements; it is to be feared, the Lord will bring his sword on the land, which shall avenge the quarrel of his covenant. 4. There is a dreadful formality and supineness in the duties of religion, which is introductive to that woe which came upon the careless daughters. 5. Horrid ingratitude; what do we render to him for his goodness? Is it not the most of all that we do, to work wickedness, and strengthen our hands to do evil. 6. The want of humility under all our troubles; we are brought low, yet we are not low in the sight of God. 7. Dreadful covetousness and minding of our own things, more than the things of God, and this amongst all ranks; would to God that

that there were not too much of this amongst many who are enemies to the cross of Christ, and mind earthly things. And yet I dare not say, but that there are many faithful and precious to him in *Scotland*, both of ministers and professors, whom I hope, God will keep stedfast, and will study to be faithful to their Lord and Master, and whom I hope, he will make as brasen walls, and as iron pillars, and as defended cities in the following of their duty, in these sad and evil times; but it were to be wished, that there were not too many who strengthen the hands of evil doers, and making themselves transgressors, by studying to build up again, that which formerly they had destroyed; let such take heed of that flying roll in *Zech. v.* And let all the Lord's servants and ministers take heed, that they watch and be stedfast in the faith, and *quit themselves like men, and be strong*: And that they set the trumpets to their mouths, and give a seasonable and faithful warning to all ranks, concerning sin and duty, especially against the sins of this sinful time. It is to be lamented, and is sadly regreted by many of the Lord's people, that there hath been so much silence and fainting, even amongst ministers. Oh! how great a concernment is it now in this sad juncture? Let ministers consider well, what it is that God calleth for at their hands; to be silent now, especially when so horrid and cruel things are acted, when they are so much called, and ought to be concerned to speak, even upon the peril of life, is certainly a dreadful sin in the sight of God. I shall only desire, that God may open the mouths of his faithful servants, that with all boldness they may speak out the mind of their Master, and so the work, interest, crown and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ may not be destroyed; and that the souls of his poor people, which are precious to God, may not without testimony be ruined.

ruined. I shall but say two or three words more,
1. All that are profane, I would seriously exhort you, that ye would return to the Lord by serious repentance, which if ye do, iniquity shall not be your ruin; if not, know, that the day of the Lord's vengeance is near, and it hasteneth on. O know for your comfort, there is a door of mercy yet open, if ye be not despisers of the day of salvation. And ye that have been and yet are reproachers and persecuters of godliness, and of such as live godly, take heed, sad will your day be when God ariseth to scatter his enemies, if ye repent not of all your ungodly deeds. 2. All those that are *Gallios*, if their own private interest prosper, and go well, they care the less for the interest of Christ; take heed, be zealous and repent, lest the Lord pass that sentence, *I will spew you out of my mouth*. 3. For the truly godly, and such as are lamenting after the Lord, and mourning for all the abominations done in the city and in the land, and are taking pleasure in the rubbish and stones of *Zion*, be of good courage, and cast not away your confidence. I dare not say any thing to future things, but surely the Lord hath a handful that are precious to him, whom he will be gracious unto. This is a dark night, how long it may last, the Lord knoweth: and let none of the sad disasters his people are trysted with, tho' very astonishing, terrify you; beware of sin that abounds; cleave fast to your covenanted reformed religion; do not shift the cross of Christ, if ye be called unto it, it is better to suffer than sin; account the reproaches of Christ greater riches than the treasures of the world.

In the last place, let not my death be grievous to any of you, I hope it will be more profitable both for you and me, and for the church and interest of God, than my life could have been. I bless the Lord, I can freely and frankly forgive all men the
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guilt of it, even as I desire to be forgiven of God. *Pray for them that persecute you, and bless them that curse you.* As to the cross of Jesus Christ the Lord, I never had cause, nor have this day, to rue for any thing I have suffered, or can now suffer for his name. I thank the Lord, who hath shewed mercy to such a vile sinner as I am, and that ever he should have advanced me to such a high dignity, as to be made a minister of the blessed and everlasting gospel, or that ever I should have had a seal set to my ministry upon the hearts of some in several places of this land. The Lord visit Scotland with more and more faithful pastors, and send a reviving day to the work and people of God. In the mean time, *Be patient, be stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord;* and live in love and peace one with another, and the Lord be with his afflicted groaning people that are behind.

Now I bid farewell with all my friends and dear relations; Farewel my poor wife and child, whom I leave on the good hand of him, who is better than seven husbands, and will be *a father to the fatherless.* Farewel all creature comforts, and welcome everlasting life, everlasting glory, everlasting love, and everlasting praise. *Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me.*

Sic subscribitur,

Edinr. Augt. 14. 1679.

JOHN KING.

The joint or general TESTIMONY of
THOMAS BROWN, JAMES WOOD, AN-
DREW SWORD, JOHN WADDEL, and
JOHN CLIDE, who suffered Nov. 25. 1679.

Men and Brethren,

Although the most part of this generation, not
 only be wicked and declared enemies of our
 Lord,

Lord, but also too many professors and ministers may, and do look upon us as fools, because of our suffering unto death, for that which too many either account not duty, or at least, look upon it as a light and indifferent thing: yet we assure you, it is not so with us, nor can we see how all these cunning and far fetcht distinctions would be able to clear and cover us from a flat denying of our Lord and Master, and a plain going out from under his banner and protection, to make peace with, and seek quiet and safety from those who have lifted themselves up against him and his cause. For *Isaiah* said chap. lvii. 21. *No peace unto the wicked, saith my God*; how can we expect peace under them, who are in open war with our Lord, and have robbed him of his glory; and have the ark in captivity, under their hand? It is vain to think that any can have peace under them, who have God for their party against them, *Obad.* verses 6. 7. *How are the things of Esau searched out! how are his hid things sought up! All the men of thy confederacy have brought thee even to the border; the men that were at peace with thee have deceived thee, and prevailed against thee; they that eat thy bread have laid a wound under thee, there is no understanding in him.* Now, however we be looked upon as fools, both because so many have left us, and so many appear and speak against us; yet we are confident, it shall be found for Christ's sake and the gospel's, and that yet there is a remnant in this land that cordially join and sympathize with us, and will adhere unto that which we are called to seal with our blood. We confess, we are not learned men, and have not that wisdom and policy that is so much approved and followed in the world, yet we shall find it our mercy to follow that wisdom that is from above, which is first pure and then peaceable, and that understanding which is from above, to depart from all evil, is and hath

hath been our surest rule, when the Searcher of all hearts shall bring forth the hidden things of dishonesty, and when that scripture, *Luke xvi. 15.* by after providence is applied and seen upon them, and their practices, that now condemn us, *Ye are they who justify yourselves before men, but God knoweth your hearts, for that which is highly esteemed amongst men, is an abomination in the sight of God.*

Now to satisfy you a little further, we shall tell you, that it is for fear of offending, and losing the peace and favour of our good Lord, who is this day an angry and jealous God, that makes us we dare not take this wicked and hell-hatcht bond. For in our baptism, our fathers devoted, and gave us unto the Lord, and afterward, when we came to desire an interest in him, and close the bargain with him, we took him for our Lord and King, as well as our Saviour and priest, and upon his own terms, and so to follow and walk in him, even though it should cost us our lives. And now, since he is calling for our lives, we dare not take our word again, and break the bargain with so kind a Master, for all the bounties and baits that is promised by, or can be gotten from men. Ye see by the first part of the bond, they would make us acknowledge our appearance at *Bothwel-bridge* to be rebellion, which we cannot; but did then, and still are of the mind, we were only appearing for our Lord and his truths, by dissenting from, and testifying against both the appearing of open and stated enemies, *that have devoured Jacob, and laid waste his dwelling places.* And also all these tho' professing friends that have sided with, and strengthened their hands, and offended and made sad the hearts of his poor people, that so, if there shall be not only a further usurping, as hath been already, but a giving up by consent by the most part, the glory of the Lord, and submitting to the supremacy, which will be found the idol of jealousy,

fy, and that not only by the indulged, but those who are gaping so much after the new indulgence. We are confident, his peoples appearing at *Bothwell-bridge*, and our sufferings and blood now, shall be found as a witness against them, and a protestation for, and an indication of the Lord's returning and staying in the land, for the glory of his great name, and the good of the posterity to come; and that he shall deliver his poor remnant, that he may let enemies see, it hath been in vain, and impossible for them always to resist him, and also let ministers and professors see their sin and folly to distrust him, by making peace with them; for truly it is to be feared, that sad things are to come on this generation, that not only do iniquity, but defend it, and hate and censure all that stand fast in the faith, and withstand the defections of the time, as if we were more to fear some men, and please others, than to fear and please the living God; branding us with singularity, and as unstable fools, tending to error and schism, as if it were more to study unity with, and follow ministers, and the bulk of professors, than to study unity in Christ our Lord and head, and so unity in his truth, and to follow truth, which only can make us free. Let such as so reproach us consider *Lukē xvi. 15.* And as to the rest of the bond, which is, that we shall not lift arms against the king and his authority, without any qualification or condition, so that this is more than we or our fathers were obliged to by the obligatory oath, sworn by the people at his coronation, which we find was in these words, *By the eternal and almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, we become your liege-men, and truth and faith shall bear unto you, and live and die with you against all manner of folks whatsoever, in your service, according to the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant.* By which we see an express condition and qualification,

on, so that seeing we be sworn only to be for him according to the covenant, which must be understood in defence of, and prosecuting the ends of the covenant, then surely we cannot be thought to be obliged to be for him, while he is positively, plainly and declaredly against these covenants, and the ends thereof, and suppressing and persecuting all these that adhere thereunto. Now this we observe from that which is the peoples oath to him as their king. But also in his coronation oath he is sworn to maintain the true religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of his holy word, and due and right administration of the sacraments then received within this kingdom, which was neither Popery, Prelacy, or this Erastian government, but by his oath or taking the covenant, before ever he was received king, or the coronation oath tendred; how doth he in the presence of almighty God, the searcher of hearts, allow and approve, and faithfully oblige himself to maintain the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, and to prosecute the ends thereof; and that he for himself and his successors shall consent and agree to all the acts of parliament enjoining these covenants, and fully establishing Presbyterian government; and that he shall observe these in his own practice and family; and that he shall never make opposition to any of these acts, or endeavour any change thereof. And further we see that after these oaths solemnly sworn in the presence of God and all the people, it is upon these conditions foresaid, that he was set upon the throne; for at his coronation we see and understand, when the sword was given him by the lyon at arms, the lyon's words were these, *Sir, receive this kingly sword for the defence of the faith of Christ, and the protection of this kirk, and the true religion, as it is presently professed within this kingdom, according to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, and for executing equity*

quity and justice, and for the punishment of all iniquity and injustice. Now, in this flattering, blind and juggling age, let God arise (by whom kings reign, and for whom kings should reign) and judge between him and us, and see who have transgressed most, and forfeited their right before God and men; for which read 1 Kings xviii. 18. where *Elijah* his answer to *Ahab* was, *I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and thou hast followed Baalim.* Also, Psal. xciv. 20, 21, 22, 23. *Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law? They gather themselves together against the righteous, and condemn the innocent blood; but the Lord is my defence, and my God is the rock of my refuge: And he shall bring upon them their own iniquity, and shall cut them off in their own wickedness, yea, the Lord our God shall cut them off.* Read also, Psal. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4. *Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? the kings of the earth set themselves, and the princes take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast their cords from us. He that sits in the heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision: Then shall he speak to them in wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure.* Amos viii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. *Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat? making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the ballances by deceit? That we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell the refuse of the wheat? The Lord hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, Surely, I will never forget any of their works. Shall not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein? and it shall rise up wholly as a flood;*

and it shall be cast out and drowned, as by the flood of Egypt. Now, hath not our king, and many of all ranks, not only broken these oaths of the covenants lying upon them, but are risen up against all that own and adhere, or contend for them? and the blood of his people is about the throne, and upon their skirts, and an ugly crew of hell-hounds hired and hunted out against his people, and payed by the cels, and all authority extended and bended mainly against such, as will not bow unto that idol of jealousy; for ye see, how all that have said a confederacy with them, which we cannot do, get fair quarters for a time; but Popery is coming fast on. But take heed, lest these who have fled from suffering to save their life, may not lose it then, when they shall not be honoured to give a testimony. Wherefore read *Isa. viii.* from ver. 6. to the end. *Forasmuch as this people refuse the waters of Shiloah that go softly, and rejoyce in Rezin and Remaliah's son. Now therefore, behold the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria, and all his glory; and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks. And he shall pass through Judah, he shall overflow, and go over, he shall reach even to the neck, and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel. Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; and give ear, O ye of far countries, gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand, for God is with us. For the Lord spake thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me, that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying, Say ye not, A confederacy to all them to whom this people shall say a confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself, and let him be your fear; and let him be your dread. And he shall be for*

a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling, and for a rock of offence, to both the houses of Israel; for a gin, and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Bind up the testimony, and seal up the law among my disciples. And I will wait upon the Lord, who hideth himself from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him. Behold I, and the children whom the Lord hath given me, are for signs and for wonders in Israel, from the Lord of hosts, who dwelleth in mount Zion. And when they shall say unto thee, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep, and that mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? the living to the dead? To the law, and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them. And they shall pass thro' it, hardly bestead and hungry; and it shall come to pass, that when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse their king and their God, and look upward. And they shall look unto the earth, and behold trouble and darkness, dimness of anguish, and they shall be driven to darkness. Now, considering all these things, and their circumstances, and what we may see to be the design of the enemies of our Lord on foot, and after God's contending with us at Bothwell-bridge, and rubbing shame on our faces, in causing us to flee after such a manner, for our unfaithfulness in our declaration, and in not plain acknowledging and mourning for the sins, which are the causes of God's wrath upon the land. Therefore read Mic. vii. 8, 9, 10. Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy; when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me; he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness. Then she that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her, which said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God? mine eye

shall behold her; now shall she be troden down as the mire of the streets. Should we then yet add iniquity unto our transgressions by taking this woful bond? nay, God forbid we do such a great evil, and sin more against God; for altho' Peter, after denying his Master, got repentance, yet we dare not but confess and avouch him to be our liege Lord and Law-giver, Head and King in Zion; *Isa. ix. 6. For unto us a Child is born, and unto us a Son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulders, &c. And Psal. ii. 6, 7. But I have set my King upon my holy hill of Zion, &c.* That he may confess and own us before the Father, when he shall sit and judge, and before whom, and by whom our so unjust sentence, and all such, shall be revised and canvassed again: And then all kings and rulers shall be made to tremble and shake before him; yea, and to cast their crowns under his feet, and to curse them that now flatter them most, whether statesmen or churchmen, whether Prelates or Papists, or these time-serving, self-seeking, new conformed clergy, that confirm the wicked by their indifferency, unfaithfulness, blunt and ambiguous ways of speaking, and also saddens and breaks the spirits of the small remnant, that groan to see the neutrality of some, and the joint conspiracy of others against our Lord, and in his matters; for the prelates and curates drive our king and rulers on all their cruel and wicked courses; and the indulged and others that testify not against them, do either concur, comply with, or wink at, the wicked in their wicked rebellions against God, and all for love of peace, unity, quiet and ease. Therefore read *Ezek. xiii. 4, 5. O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the deserts. Ye have not gone up into the gaps, neither made up the hedge for the house of Israel, to stand in the battle in the day of the Lord, &c. And ver. 19. And will ye pollute me among my people for handfuls of barley, and for pieces of bread, to slay the* souls

souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live. For which we fear their hands will not be found altogether free of blood, altho' they would, and do justify them that take this bond. Let none hereafter cry out upon us as erroneous and schismatic, or separatists or dividers, except they can prove that we are to follow ministers whether they follow Christ and his truth-fully, or not, which is contrary to *Paul's* exhortation, Follow me no further than I follow Christ. And we are well advised by *Jeremiah*, Lam. ii. 14. *Thy prophets have seen vain and foolish things for thee, and they have not discovered thine iniquity, to turn away thy captivity, but have seen for thee false burdens, and causes of banishment.* We therefore, however we be mistaken of men, declare ourselves Presbyterians, both in principles, and in this our present suffering, and sealing a testimony against all such, as have been too faint and ashamed of our sworn-to principles, in yielding to Erastianism. As we testify against those who establish it with a high hand; so we own and adhere to the former work of reformation in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, agreed to, summed up, and held forth in the Confession of Faith, Shorter and Larger Catechisms, Directions for Church-government, all according to the Word of God, and sworn to in the covenants. We own and adhere to the Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties, then also sworn to, and also the Causes of God's wrath, and all the former testimonies of our worthies. And in particular do acknowledge and bless God for the faithful warnings and testimonies we have had for the truth from the *Banished in Holland*, in their faithful adhering to the work for which we now suffer, to the honour of their Master, and comfort of his sufferers.

And we again declare against all the former and present proceedings of the stated enemies of the Lord,

both in their acts and laws made against that which they are solemnly sworn to in the covenants, to defend with us, in the defence of this cause for which they now shed our blood, and persecute all such as will not render up their bodies and souls to the blind obedience of their unreasonable and wicked wills: and also we declare against all the private practices, underhand dealings, and more public appearances of ministers and professors, either for the enemies of our Lord, or compliance with them, or wherein they have not more faithfully appeared with the poor remnant to help the Lord against the mighty. Therefore, in the presence of Almighty God the Searcher of all hearts, we desire as we can, in our own name, and in the names of all those that adhere unto us, and in name, and for account of the posterity to come, and for the glory of God, to take instruments in the sight of angels and men: and hereby protest against all such causes of indifferency and neutrality in the matters of God, as well as a bowing unto, and formal quite under-hand compliance with this idol of jealousy, which, amongst many other sins, these have, and are like yet to provoke the Lord more to leave the land: and instead of turning unto the Lord, and being confounded and ashamed of former ways, we are still more and more going backward, wherefore read *Jer. v. 1. Run to and fro thro' the streets of Jerusalem, and see now and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find a man, if there be any that executeth judgment, and seeketh the truth, and I will pardon it. Ver. 2. Altho' they say, The Lord liveth, surely they swear falsely. Ver. 3. O Lord, are not thine eyes upon the truth? thou hast stricken them, but they have not grieved; thou hast consumed them, but they have refused to receive correction; they have made their faces harder than a flint, they refuse to return. Ver. 4. Therefore I said, Surely these are poor, they are foolish; for they know*

not the way of the Lord, nor the judgment of their God. Ver. 5. I will get me to the great men, and will speak unto them, for they have known the way of the Lord, and the judgment of their God; but these have altogether broken the yoke, and burst the bonds. Ver. 6. Therefore a lion out of the forest shall slay them, and a wolf of the evening shall spoil them. Ver. 9. Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord? and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this? Ver. 10. Go ye up upon her walls, and destroy: but make not a full end: take away her battlements, for they are not the Lord's. Ver. 12. They have belied the Lord, and said, It is not he, neither shall evil come upon us, neither shall we see sword nor famine. Ver. 13. And the prophets shall become wind, and the word is not in them: thus shall it be done unto them. Ver. 30. A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land. Ver. 31. The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it so: and what will ye do in the end thereof? Like unto the former courses of our fathers first departing from the Lord, when the resolution party of the church so far complied with the malignant designs of the court, that they turned persecuters, which now is, and ere it be long, may be more the case of the church than now: But we can assure you it will be in vain; for his purpose shall stand; and he hath hitherto, and yet shall keep up a party, and remnant, how small and contemptible soever, that shall declare and protest against all such courses, whether in the enemies, or pretended friends of our Lord, who accepts their will for their deed, and will work his own work in them and for them, to the glory of his great name; and in the confidence of this, and of his faithfulness, which is engaged, we cast our burden, and the burden of all ours upon him, and the burden of all his work and people upon him;

we being cordially willing and free to leave, quite and forsake all for the gaining and enjoying of Christ, and therefore shall only intreat, and exhort all that love and desire to see his appearance in peace, and to be made like to him in glory, that they may not now fear so much at his cross; but in such a sinning and declining time, to be made like him in suffering. Be valiant and stedfast in the faith, cast not out with truth because of our suffering; for it behoved so to be, that we give seal that with our blood, for to obtain which, our Lord suffered, and our worthy forefathers before us; and ye know not how soon any of you, to whom this our testimony may come, may be called, either to suffer for the same truths, or deny them; therefore seek of him to believe, and also to suffer for his sake: for by what is past, any body may see, it must be given of the Lord: And be sure to consult more the law and the testimony, *Isa. viii. 20.* and your former obligations more than to consult flesh and blood, and not to follow men more than God, which one day will not be approven of God, which if we had done, we had not suffered this day. Mistake us not, we are not against your taking counsel of those that be faithful ministers and professors, that fear God, and seek to please him more than men, *Micah-like*, as *Mic. iii. 8.* *Surely I am full of power by the Spirit of the Lord, and of judgment, and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sins. Ver. 9. Hear this, I pray you, ye heads of the house of Jacob, and princes of the house of Israel, that abhor judgment, and pervert all equity. Ver. 10. They build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity. Ver. 11. The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire; and the prophets thereof divine for money; yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord amongst us; No evil can come upon us. Ver. 12. Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed*

plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house, as the high places of the forest. And these that are like Jeremiah, Lam. iii. 48. Mine eyes ran down with rivers of water for the destruction of the daughter of my people. Ver. 49. Mine eye trinkleth down, and ceaseth not, without any intermission: Ver. 50. Till the Lord look down and behold from heaven. And all such as do like Daniel, chap. vi. 10. and the three children, Dan. iii. 16, 17, 18. who said to the king, *We are not careful to answer thee in this matter: If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.* And like Nehemiah chap. i. read it all throughout, and chap. vi. 11. who said, *Should such a man as I flee? and who is there, that being as I am, would go into the temple to save his life? I will not go in.* And all such as are like Uriah, Job and Joseph, that was separated from his brethren. And all the other apostles and prophets, who were valiant for the truth. And on the other hand, be always jealous of such as are holden forth, Mal. ii. 8. 9. *But ye are departed out of the way, ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts; therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before the people, according as ye have not kept my ways, but have been partial in the law.* As also, all such, as in Ezek. xiii. 10. *Because, even because they have seduced my people, saying, Peace, and there was no peace: And one built up a wall, and lo, another daubed it with untempered mortar.* And read also, ver. 18. to 23. yea, the whole chap. Such also, as in Mic. vi. 16, observe the statutes of Omri, and all the works of the house of Ahab, and walk in their counsels. Yea, in short, beware of every one that is in favour with the wicked, who
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seek or accept favours from them, not according to his word, and wink at them, and much more those that are approved by them; and any body may see, who are in favour with them, and for that ye may read *Lam.ii.14.* and the former scriptures, and that in *Neb. vi. 10. to 15.* But the good Lord who hath preserved us poor weak things from fainting; lead and guide all these that look unto him, and keep their feet free from the snares of the time; as he hath done it, he will do it, if ye depend upon him. To whom be glory for ever and ever. Into whose hands we commend our spirits. *Sic subscribitur,*

THO. BROWN, AND. SWORD, JO. CLIDE,
JA. WOOD, JO. WADDEL.

The TESTIMONY of

T H O M A S B R O W N,

Shoe-maker in *Edinburgh*, who suffered in *Magus Moor*, November 25. 1679.

Men and Brethren,

I Am come here this day, in your audience, to lay down this life, which God hath given me, for my being in the defence of myself, and in the defence of the gospel of Christ Jesus, which ye know we are solemnly engaged to defend with our lives and liberty, and all that we have in our station. And being conscious to myself that I was concerned to appear at *Bothwell-bridge*, and was willing to cast in my poor mite amongst the people of God. And although I be now called to lay down my life, upon the account of rebellion, as they call it; yet the Lord is my witness, and my conscience bears me witness, that I never intended rebellion against the king at all, but I thought it was grievous to me to see the work of God so trode down by a generation that have been stated enemies to the cross of Christ these

these many years bygone, by their shutting up his faithful ministers, part of them in tolbooths, and part of them in the rocks of the sea, and part of them banished out of the land, and part expelled to corners, and likewise private persons put out of their families, expelled to the mountains and rocks, dens and caves of the earth, and put out of all capacity to provide for their families and little ones. And I thought it was not a time for me to lie at ease in *Zion*, and trust in the mountains of *Samaria*, lest I brought on that curse of *Meroz* upon me, because I would not go out to *help the Lord against the mighty*; which I hope none will deny, and much less Christians. Therefore, my friends, let none of you put any reflection upon any that appeared at *Bothwell-bridge*, lest ye state God an enemy against you, since we are sworn in the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, and Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and the work of reformation, and the solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, against Popery, Prelacy, and Quakerism, and all manner of profanity, which is carried on by all ranks and degrees of people in this land. We are bound to defend our covenanted religion, with our lives and liberties in our station, when *none calleth for justice, nor any pleads for the truth*, Isa. lix. 4. *Ye have not gone up into the gaps, neither made up the hedge for the house of Israel to stand in the battle in the day of the Lord*, Ezek. xiii. 5. And as for my part, I could not take any bond which was presented unto me, when I considered the bonds of the covenants that I was solemnly engaged unto; although I never swore the covenant, yet I am engaged to maintain it, for whose sake it is named the covenant of God, who hath said, *Lev. xxvi. 25. I will bring a sword upon you, that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant*. So I desire you, my friends, for the Lord's sake, to mind your vows,

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ties and engagements, that ye are tied and obliged to perform, so far as in you lies, to the Lord, for ye know what is said, *Ezek. xvii. 15. Shall he prosper? shall he escape that hath done such things? Shall he break the covenant and be delivered?* Ver. 18. *Seeing he despised the oath by breaking the covenant, (when lo he had given his hand) and hath done all these things, he shall not escape.* Ver. 19. *Therefore thus saith the Lord God, As I live, surely mine oath that he hath despised, and my covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense upon his own head.* Therefore, my friends, mind your engagements unto him, and mourn for sin, and lie in the dust before him, and give him no rest, until he arise and plead Zion's cause, and that he may restore the waste places of poor Scotland, and take away the deluge of wrath, that is hanging over the heads of these lands, for the breach of covenant in them. And as for my part, I have reason again and again to bless the Lord, that ever he set his love upon me, and hath condescended so far, as to single out the like of me, (who am but a poor wretched sinner of myself, and worthy of nothing but eternal damnation, by reason of original and actual transgressions) as to be a witness of his despised and born-down work in these lands. As ye will find written in *1 Tim. i. 15. 16. This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.* And *Isa. li. 12. I, even I am he that comforteth you; who art thou that shouldest be afraid of man that shall die, and of the son of man which shall be made as grass?* Ver. 13. *And forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched out the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth, and hast feared continually every day, because of the oppressor, as if he were ready to destroy; and where is the fury of the oppressor?* Likewise that of *Isa. xli. 10. Fear thou not,*
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for I am with thee, be not dismayed; for I am thy God; I will strengthen thee, yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness. Likewise *Isa. xlix. 25.* I will contend with him that contendeth with thee. *Isa. xxvii. 8.* He stayeth his rough wind in the day of his east wind. *Isa. xxxiii. 16.* His bread shall be given him, and his water shall be sure. *Ver. 17.* Thy eyes shall see the King in his beauty; they shall behold the land that is very far off. *Psal. cxl. 7.* Thou hast covered my head in the day of battle.

These scriptures have been very sweet and refreshing to me in my experience. Therefore I desire you not to fear at the cross of Jesus Christ; because of my suffering, for I can assure you from my experience, that his yoke is easy, and his burden is light, for he hath well made out, that he sends none a warfare upon their own charges. Therefore, my dear friends, give him much credit and trust much in him, for he is well worth all the pains ye can be at for him. *Psal. xxxiv. 8.* O taste and see that the Lord is good: blessed is the man that trusteth in him. As for my part, I durst not comply with that party in any terms which was sinful in the sight of God, for the saving of my life, since he hath said in his word, *He that seeks to save his life, shall lose it.* And if I had taken that bond, I would have subscribed that to be a sin, which I acknowledge to be my duty. I am persuaded in my conscience from the word of God, he that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much, and he that is not faithful in that which is least, will never be faithful in that which is much; and he that denies me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in Heaven; and him that confesseth me before men, will I confess before my father which in Heaven. I give my testimony to the cross of Christ. Likewise I bless the Lord, that it hath pleased him to fall on such a method with the like of me, as to put it into
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my heart to appear at *Bothwel-bridge* for his cause and interest, which was so much troden under foot by men. And I die in the faith of it, that the seed sown at *Bothwel-bridge* shall have a glorious spring and harvest, which shall be renowned in the eyes of all the beholders of it. Likewise *I adhere to the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and the work of reformation, &c.* as aforesaid, which was once far advanced in our land against Popery, Prelacy, Quakerism, and all manner of error and profanity, which are now abounding in these loose times, by the usurpation of that to the crown, which belongs only to Jesus Christ, as head of his church, and not to any mortal man; for all kings and princes are but in subordination to him, *Mat. xxii. 22.* And he said unto them, *Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.* Therefore, my dear friends, give the king all obedience, in so far as ye are commanded from the word of God, *Eccles. viii. 2.* *I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God.* In so far as ye are engaged solemnly in your covenant, but do not take any evil course to shun the cross of Christ, for the saving of your life, and of your means, least ye state God an enemy against you; and do not let the fear of men prevail with you, but contend for the faith that was once delivered to the saints; for I can assure you from his word, that his grace will be all-sufficient for you. As for my part, I bless the Lord that I am a member of the church of *Scotland*, which was one of the most glorious and best reformed churches in the world, for doctrine, discipline and government, and the work of reformation, as one of the most holy contrivances of the most holy Lord, for a hedge to keep out the wild boars out of the vineyard.

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So, my friends, ye see now by our not being stedfast in our covenant, how that the malignant party and prelatick hath broken into the sanctuary, and defiled his courts, and broken down the carved work those many years bygone : ye see how his poor people is scattered in the place of dragons by that usurped power and tyranny, which is carried on by all ranks of people in this land. So, I would if it might stand with glory, (not that I desire to limit his holy Majesty), and that he would send yet down a pouring of his Spirit upon the hearts of his poor people in Scotland, that there may be yet a reviving amongst them in these lands, that bone may come to bone, and sinew to sinew, that there may be a reviving of his work again in the midst of the years. Therefore, my dear friends, study more loyalty to our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, and give him that which is his own due right, that thereby ye may dwell in the land, and that ye may have his comely presence to dwell amongst you, now when the men of the world are making him to wear a crown of thorns upon his head, and crucifying him in his members, and putting him to open shame, that he is forced to go to the mountains and dens and caves of the earth, and is yet looking down to see if there be any that will turn from their iniquities, and seek after him, and he will pardon them. Therefore, my friends, *cast not away your confidence, which hath a great recompence of reward; for ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise, Heb. x. 35. 36. And study to walk in the light, as he is in the light, that we may have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin, 1 John i. 7. and Heb. ix. 12. Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us, and v. 13. and 14. and*

Psal.

Psal. xxxii. 5. 6. So I desire to bless the Lord, that his gracious presence hath not been wanting to my soul during my imprisonment, which I can say in my experience, that my prison hath been a *Bethel* to me. So I desire you all my friends to seek unto him for grace to help in the time of need. I give my witness and testimony against Popery, Prelacy and malignancy, and all manner of corruptions, that are abounding in these loose times. I give my witness and testimony against Prelates, Curates and their associates; and against all these that have intruded themselves into the calling of the ministry, and had never a call from God, to enter by the door into the sheep-fold, but have climbed up another way. I give my witness and testimony against indifferent and luke warm professors, who follow Christ, as the times make for them. I give my witness and testimony against all drunkards, and all false swearers and profane persons, against all persecuters of the Lord's people, against all profligate and wicked livers, who know not God, nor will acknowledge him to be the head of the church. *2 Pet. ii. 3.* *And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you; whose judgment now of a long time lingreth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.* I give my witness and testimony against all bonds and declarations taken for the saving of their life and liberty, when it comes in competition with the confessing of our blessed Lord, or the denying of him; *he that seeks to save his life, shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.* I give my witness and testimony against all compliers and connivers in strengthening of the adversary to carry on their course of defection against the Lord's people, *2 Tim. ii. 12.* *If we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him; if we deny him, he will also deny us.* Therefore, I bless the Lord, that ever he hath been pleased to single out the like of me, who am

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but a wretched sinner of myself; yet I could willingly, if every hair of my head were a man's life, lay them all down with my life for Christ, and his cause. Therefore, my friends, do not deceive yourselves, God will not be mocked. 2 Cor. vi. 17. *Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you.* Ye see how many are following their pernicious ways, by whom the way of God is evil spoken of; they are natural brute beasts, meet to be taken and destroyed, speaking evil of the things they understand not, and shall utterly perish in their own corruption, and shall receive the reward of unrighteousness; having eyes full of adultery, and that cannot cease from sin, beguiling unstable souls, an heart they have exercised with covetous practices, cursed children, which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam, who loved the wages of unrighteousness. Take that scripture for your encouragement against these ravenous wolves, Isa. lvi. 10. *These watchmen are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber.* Ver. 11. *Yea, they are greedy dogs, &c.* So, my friends, ye see their practices, how they feed themselves, and not the flock of Christ, therefore trust not in them, for they will deceive you, yea, even the very elect, if it were possible; but for the elect's sake, these days shall be shortned. So ye may understand what their design and end is; for they love the purse, the ways of unrighteousness, and they will get it, and the curse of God with it, if they mend not their manners; as Judas did, who betrayed our blessed Lord and Master for thirty pieces of silver; and altho' he did cast them back, yet he got no place of repentance. I desire you to come out from among them, lest ye be partakers of their plagues and judgments. I give my witness and

testimony against their idolatrous practices, and their abominable courses, which they take to deceive and entangle poor things. Read *Isai. xxvi. 11.* Lord, *when thy hand is lifted up, they will not see, but they shall see, and be ashamed for their envy at the people; yea, the fire of thine enemies shall devour them.* Likewise, I give my testimony against the calumny cast upon Presbyterians, that they are not loyal subjects to the king, which aspersions I abhor. Therefore, my friends, give only obedience as far as the word of God will teach you, but do not stretch your consciences, lest the Lord lead you forth with the workers of iniquity, and there shall be no exemption in that day, when he shall appear in the clouds gloriously with all his holy angels, and then he shall separate the clean from the unclean. So, if ye abide with him, he will abide with you, *2 Chron. xv. 1.* *And the Spirit of the Lord came upon Azariah the son of Oded.* Ver. 2. *The Lord is with you, while you be with him; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you; but if you forsake him, he will forsake you.* Therefore, my friends, seek him, and sanctify the Lord God in your hearts; and be not afraid of their fury, and their treacherous dealings. As for my part, indeed I must confess, that I ought to go mourning to the grave for the dreadful apostasy and defection, which, thro' the prevalency of temptations hath overpowered this land, and yet there is so few that dare venture on precious Christ, or credit him with their lives, as their Lord and Master. Therefore, my soul, bless him that ever he hath credited me, as to venture my life for his cause and interest, against this tyrannical course of defection in these lands. I hope within a little I shall be made a sharer of these heavenly mansions, and the peaceable fruits of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me, not for any thing of my merit, but in and thro' the merits of Jesus Christ

our Saviour, upon the terms of the new covenant. Since the Father hath given all fulness unto the Son, I desire to believe in the faith of it, that he will communicate of that fulness to such poor sinners as we are, which he aforetime hath prepared for them to whom he hath a mind by the election of grace. Yet I know there are many professed friends, of whom I dare not say, but they have the root of the matter in them, who could say to my own hearing that day when I received my sentence, that I could not have peace in my conscience, in laying down my life for such a little matter, as the refusing of that bond for the saving of my life, which I had in some measure born in upon my spirit, that I could not escape their hands; yet, I bless the Lord, that altho' I have many prevailing corruptions and sins, which have prevailed with me; yet I have reason to bless him, that he is not wanting to me in my present necessity, for he hath well made out that scripture to my experience, *I will be a present help in time of trouble.* Therefore, I would desire you all, to draw near to him, and he will draw near to you. Ye may call to mind that scripture, *Matth. x. 38, 39. He that loveth father or mother better than me, is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not up his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me: he that findeth his life, shall lose it; and he that loseth his life, for my sake, the same shall find it.* And altho' this dispensation be fallen out to me in a very dark and dismal time, wherein his poor people can hardly discern betwixt sin and duty; yet I believe thro' his grace, that he will land me fair on the other side of the shore, *Isa. xxxv. 10. And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs.* As for my judgment anent the indulgence, ye may see it by my giving witness and testimony against bonds and declarations taking; and likewise against all compliance and connivance with that party,

ty, in carrying on that course of defection and apostasy against the Lord's work and cause. As for that latter indulgence, which they have accepted of at this time, I had no love to it, Erastianism is not to be approved by any sound and well principled Christian, that knows any thing of the principles, of religion. Being straitned with time, and cannot say my mind fully in this, I refer you to the general testimony left by us all. Recommending my poor wife to the Lord and his good people. Farewel, all my good friends, welcome Father, Son and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commend my spirit. Amen.

Sic subscribitur,

THOMAS BROWN.

The TESTIMONY of

JAMES WOOD,

In the Sherifdom of *Ayr*, and parish of *Newmills*.

Men and Brethren,

SEEING it hath pleased the Lord, who is just, holy and righteous in all his dealings, to call me by this public death to witness for the truth, I judge it my duty to make it known to the world, that I suffer not as an evil doer, but for adhering to these truths that we and our fathers, yea, all ranks of the land from the lowest to the highest are engaged to. And I bless the Lord, I give my life willingly for him, and his cause, that gave his life for me; yea, if I had many more lives, I would think them all too little to lay down for this cause. I bless his name, it was my desire to die a martyr for him, and now he hath called me to it, and by his grace hath wonderfully helped me to carry in, and under my present lot, notwithstanding of the many temptations I was trysted with from one hand and another even from those whom I would have expected to strengthen

strengthen our hands; but his grace is all-sufficient to bear up a poor weak thing in the day of trial. He is as good as his promise, and he hath promised to keep them in the hour of temptation that keep the word of his patience, which he hath made out to me. But as for the grounds of our suffering, It is known to God, that it was my love to my Lord and Master, and his persecuted gospel, that moved me to rise in arms against these open blasphemers and enemies to our Lord Jesus, and not for any prejudice I had at great or small of that party, the Lord knows: but a party appearing for that work, I judged myself bound in duty, from obligations both from the Word and Covenant to join with them, And O that my blood were a river of blood to witness against all that hath preferred their present ease and their temporal life, to our Lord's work and eternal life. But more particularly for this bond which was pressed so much; I have this to say for it, that my love to my king Christ made me to stand in awe to say a confederacy with that party that are stated enemies to him and his work. And seeing they have taken his crown and sceptre to invest a mortal man with, shall I say, that I should never resent these wrongs and injuries done to my Lord and Master. Nay, thro' his grace, if I had many more lives than I have, I would part with them all for his sake. But beside, we are all bound by our covenant to extirpate Popery and Prelacy; and should I score myself out of that party, that God may, and yet will raise for his broken-down and condemned work; so that I could not take this accursed bond, unless I had renounced that solemn obligation which I judge myself bound to, and incur the hazard of that work, which is denounced against these that are at ease in Zion; and the frowns of my blessed Lord and Master, which I durst not adventure on, for incurring the wrath of all the kings of the world: so that

whatever men may brand us with, as separating from others that were engaged in the same quarrel with us; yet I am persuaded that God will not account us so, and in due time it shall appear, that they have separated from us, and not we from them. And we, thro' the sovereign power and might of God (not by any thing in us more than in them) are adhering to our former avowed and sworn to principles; and I profess, I die in the faith of the church of *Scotland*, as it was reformed in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, conform to the Word of God, *the Confession of Faith*, and *Catechisms Larger and Shorter*, *the National and Solemn League and Covenants*, and I give my hearty approbation of the *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties*, *the Causes of God's wrath*; and I adhere to all the testimonies of our sufferers of old and of late, who have suffered for his cause, and do give my testimony, and protests against all the open and avowed, or underhand enemies to our Lord and his work in these lands. And I give my testimony against these cursed plants of Popery and Prelacy, which God never planted. And I leave my testimony against supremacy, and all those both ministers and people that have been strengthening the hands of those who have robbed our Lord of his royal prerogatives, by receiving indulgences former or latter, or giving sinful bonds, to bound ministers in these things, for which Christ hath purchased their freedom at a dear rate. And I give my testimony against the paying of tithes, and all other sinful bonds and ties contrary to scripture and our former covenants. But being straitened with time, I refer you to a general testimony subscribed by us all, wherein all our minds are more fully expressed. I bid farewell to all my dear friends, farewell all earthly comforts, and welcome Father, Son and Holy Spirit, to whom be glory for ever, Amen.

Sic subscribitur,

JAMES WOOD,

THE TESTIMONY of
A N D R E W S W O R D,

Weaver in *Galloway*, in the stuary of *Kircudbright*
and parish of *Bary*.

Men and Brethren,

ALthough I be a man of small learning, yet I cannot be altogether silent, since it hath pleased the most high, wise and holy Lord, to single me out, and call for a public testimony to his cause, work, and persecuted interest; not only born down by avowed enemies, but, which is now disowned, even by many professors; when it is come to that, they must either seal the cause with their blood, or else break the covenant, and turn their back on Christ and his cause, to which they were and are solemnly engaged in the fight of God; so that I desire that what I am wanting in my written testimony, I may supply by my sufferings and death: Which, tho' for his sake I lay it down, yet I trust not in my own death, but in the mercies and blood of Jesus Christ, who hath purchased and promised the crown of life unto all those who through his strength he keeps faithful unto the death, *Rev. ii. 10.* and especially in such an hour of temptations as we have been trysted with; and I count his assisting grace, in helping me to stand, when stronger than I have yielded, yea, and made me rejoice in that he hath chosen poor me, one amongst the few that are honoured to confess and avow him and his truth in such a time and manner. I say, I am confident, it is a token for good to them and me, and I take it in earnest of that crown of life, which I am hopeful to enjoy, ere long, thro' all eternity, that neither can be lost by me now, nor robbed from me by the wicked men of this generation, who now unjustly

rob me of my life and liberty; for I believe I go, where most part of them shall never come. I bless the Lord, I suffer not as an evil doer, although I be judged and condemned of men for my being in arms, and joining with that little handful, that appeared in the fields in defence of Christ, his cause and interest, as we are bound to do by the word of God, and by our covenants; they call it rebellion against his majesty, but by that way which they call rebellion (or called heresy by others) we worship the God of our fathers. And he who is the Searcher of hearts knows, that it was not rebellion against the great and living God and his Christ. And if *Samuel* were living now, when so many of our teachers are so silent, he could tell them that rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft. And I dare venture to say, though no prophet, that we are not the troublers of *Israel*, but the king and his family, and the wicked *Hamans*, the railing *Rabshakehs*, the wicked *Doegs*, the false and unfaithful prophets, these are the greatest troublers of our *Israel*. Therefore, let them read *Lam. ii. 6. 7.* And he hath violently taken away his tabernacles, as if it were of a garden, he hath destroyed his palaces of the assembly; the Lord hath caused the solemn feasts and sabbaths to be forgotten in *Zion*, and hath despised in the indignation of his anger the king and the priest: the Lord hath cast off his altar; he hath abhorred his sanctuary; he hath given up into the hand of the enemy the walls of her palaces, &c. And verse 9. Her gates are sunk into the ground, he hath destroyed and broken her bars; her king and her princes are among the Gentiles; the law is no more, her prophets also find no vision from the Lord. And I bless his name that ever I was a man to carry arms upon that account. I here declare, that I rew it not, altho' I be condemned to die for it. I bless the Lord who

hath

hath counted me worthy to die for so good and so honourable a cause, who am but a poor, feckless, worthless, sinful creature.

And now, my friends, since he hath honoured me with such a piece of honour, as to have been shut up in prison for a while, and after that, now sentenced to death by men; and in all this time the Lord hath supported me beyond what I can express: Wherefore, ye may hear and see, that they fare best that venture farthest for Christ. Therefore I pray you in his name, fear not at his cross; for when to your eye and sense it seems to be most bitter, yet even then, he can make it most sweet; I can tell this by experience: Now, for ever and for ever blessed be his name for it. Now, will ye wrestle honestly under his yoke, and he will not only bear the heavy end of it, but he will help you under your end of it. And indeed, when I was first shut up in close prison, I was somewhat dejected and cast down, upon several accounts; but, blessed be his name, my last time was better, and more sweet to me, than my first time. Altho' I was sentenced to die, I hope I am not condemned in the court of heaven, for that which men have condemned me on earth. The cause is righteous, lawful, just and good; yet I know it is not enough to justify me in God's sight, that I had a good cause; it is the having of Christ's righteousness imputed to me, and received by faith alone, that must do that. I declare I put not my hand to that work to gain any honour, or reputation to myself, but in singleness and sincerity of heart, I came unto the service, not constrained by any man, but from conscience of my being engaged by covenant unto God; and as under the name of a Christian, so to own the work and interest of Jesus Christ; altho' I had never the occasion to swear the covenant with an uplifted hand, yet I hold myself as deeply engaged in it, as if I had

had done it; and I declare my appearing with that persecuted handful in the fields, was to do to the utmost of my power, for the down-bearing of abused Prelacy, and Prelates, and Papists, and all other enemies of our Lord; and to testify not only against them, but all other errors, and sects, and sectaries whatsoever: but even the defections and sinful compliance of the indulged, and others defending them. All which is made daily more clear to be contrary to the word of God, and our sworn covenants. And I declare my appearing, as it was to testify against all them that have wronged our Lord, his kirk and people, so also to endeavour to my power, the restoring again the pure ordinances to their former power and purity, and to recover the church in this land (which Jesus Christ hath purchased at so dear a rate) to her former beauty, which is now defaced and broken down in these lands, by perjured Prelates and their underlings; and alas! disowned even by many ministers and professors, *Ezek. xiii. 10, 11, 12. Because, even because they have seduced my people, saying, Peace, and there was no peace: and one built up a wall, and lo, others daubed it with untempered mortar, &c.* And ver. 19. *And will ye pollute me among my people for handfuls of barley, and for pieces of bread, to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live, by your lying to my people, that hear your lyes? &c.* Who have declared by their apostasy and compliance, that they love their life and gear better than Christ and his cause; either of the which they were and are bound to maintain and own, even to the *resisting unto blood, striving against sin.* Alas! alas! to see professors, who once professed to know so much of Christ and his truth; and that they have declared, in the sight of enemies, that they durst not trust precious Christ, and his worthy and precious promises, by their joining and

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complying with the enemies of the cross of Jesus Christ. These things have they done by taking the bond to procure their life; but, truly, the less wonder that poor people have done it, when not only threatened by enemies, but counselled and driven to it by ministers: Oh! *the leaders of my people have caused them to err.* Therefore read *Jer. xii. 9. Mine heritage is unto me as a speckled bird, the birds round about are against her; come ye, assemble all the beasts of the field, come to devour.* Ver. 10. *Many pastors have destroyed my vineyard, they have troden my portion under foot, they have made my pleasant portion a desolate wilderness.* And ver. 11. *They have made it desolate, and being desolate, it mourneth unto me; the whole land is made desolate, because no man layeth it to heart.* And ver. 12. *The spoilers are come upon all high places through the wilderness; for the sword of the Lord shall devour, &c. and no flesh shall have peace.* And when I think on that of *Hos. ii.* from ver. 1. to 8. I shall now heartily pray, and I pray you, plead with your mother-church, the bulk of ministers and professors, that they would acknowledge their defection, mourn for it, and return to the Lord; and if they will not hear you, nor believe and lay weight upon our words, tho' men dying, witnessing against their present practices, as well as against our above-board and avowed enemies, I pray you, if they will not turn, let all pray, that the Lord himself may hedge up their way with thorns, and make a wall that they may not find their paths. And indeed it seems, that word hath little weight with or upon them, which Christ hath said, *He that seeks to save his life shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it.* And if any would ask at me what I think of the cross, when it is at the heaviest, I can answer them very well that question. I think it an easy and sweet cross; and I bless his name that
ever

ever he made me take it up and follow him. Now, because we are straitned for time to get any thing of a testimony left particular enough, to mention all things we are now clear of, and would be at as duty, to you; and all things in us, our fathers, our prince, our nobles, ministers and all ranks, that are provoking in his sight, and the causes of God's wrath on the land, I refer you to the joint and more general testimony agreed to, and subscribed by us all, as our minds together; and desires the Lord may deal and prevail with the hearts of all such, on whom our death or words, 'tis like, will not prevail, that he may pour forth his Spirit from on high upon us while in time; and on you that remain, that ye may look on him whom ye have pierced, and mourn until he return: for I hope ere long to rejoice in that I have been mourning, and now suffering, for that which others dare bless God for as a mercy, and rejoice in, that is, the first and now late favours, both indulgences and indemnities, and other things which the wicked are but spreading in your way as snares, and it is too true, that bribes blind the eyes of the wise. Therefore, I beg the Spirit of truth may lead you into all truth; and bidding farewell to all friends, being willing to leave all, to enjoy Christ, to whom I recommend my spirit.

Sic subscribitur,

ANDREW SWORD.

The TESTIMONY of

J O H N W A D D E L,

In the parish of *New Monk-land*, within the sheriffdom of *Clyde*.

Men and Brethren,

IT may be thought by some, that the cause of my death by suffering is but a thing indifferent in

in some respect; but the Lord knoweth that my intention is, and was, from the first day I appeared in open war, against all those that were fighting against Christ and his cause, from the thought and deep sense of my duty to appear in hazard of my life, and goods, and all I had in the world, to defend and maintain Jesus Christ and his cause. And now we are condemned as guilty of death, and holden by them as rebellious to appear for the interest of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and have condemned him, to have no right to govern his church and ecclesiastical affairs, which we are bound by the word of God and covenants, to own and avow in spite of all that will say the contrair, without respect of persons. It is true, I am bound to maintain all lawful authority, as it is agreeable to his word; and to obey the king, as far as he maintains the church in her liberty, and no further on any accounts; we are also bound to maintain and own him in holding out forreign nations; but if he be against God, then are we bound to stand in defence of the church, in all that belongs to the true worship and fear of God, and to do our utmost to the bearing down defection and profanity, and all those things that are contrary to our solemn engagement in the National and Solemn League and Covenant; and as he hath bound us in his word, and commanded us to lay down our lives for his cause and interest, he hath also said, *He that seeks to save his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for the gospel, shall save it.* And I have this to say, that I declare I am not worthy to receive the least honour of a testimony, because I am the least, and less than the least of all those that have appeared for his cause, at this time, or at any time have appeared for his cause and truth: for I am, as *Jacob* said, less than the least of all God's mercies; but I have this to say, to the commendation of free love
and

and mercy that he hath made that as clear to me, as the sun shineth, that if I had yielded at that time, when I was called in question for him and his truths, that he should have disowned me, for doing that, in my greatest strait. And on the other hand, I was fast and sure, that the Lord would own me, if I owned him; for he says, *He that contends with you, I will contend with him*; wherefore I have ground to lay hold upon the promises, yet not I, but the grace of God in me, and the love of him that died, and rose again from the dead in his own strength, and now lives for ever.

I bear my testimony against all those that have declared themselves open enemies against Christ, and against the work of reformation, which cause many profess they are owning, and yet denying a part of the truth to be truth; but well, let them remember that word, *No to them that call good evil, and evil good*.

Next, I bear my testimony against all that say, I might have abode at home, and served God: but I grant that is true, if I had been clear of it, and joined with indulgents. It is true, I acknowledge I once heard them, but now I am sorry for the thing I have done therein: but for their persons, the Lord knows, I have no ill will at them: but upon the other hand, some will say, although I went out, yet now I might have taken the bond, and saved my life, and done as other men did; but I have reason to bless the Lord, that has born in that upon my heart so clearly as to see the evil of it, from the beginning of it, and now I declare it at the end of the time I have to be here away.

Next, I bear my testimony against that tax so unlawfully imposed against the people, for it was only to maintain that party, who was setting themselves with all their might against the work and worship of God, because it was in power and purity,
and

and because it was not agreeable to profanity, as they would have had it, therefore they persecute that work and despise it, because it looks so like God, and they so like the devil; and they hate the people of God, because they hate God, and all that are like him, for this is the reason of our being condemned, because we had something of the fear of God; and I confess there is nothing in me, to be the end and way of the dealing of God, but it is in himself that have moved him to fall in love with me, and bring me into the way of heaven and salvation, altho' by a terrible way and manner. Nevertheless, if I win to heaven, tho' it were thro' a sea of troubles and difficulties, for the apostle says, *Rom. viii.* near the close, *Neither principalities nor powers, death nor life, things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord;* and verse 31. *If God be for us, who can be against us? It is God that justifies, who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather who is risen again from the dead, that we might live; who is even at the right hand of God; and is making intercession for us. For thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter, nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors thro' him that hath loved us.* And as he saith, *ver. 18.* *I reckon that the sufferings of this present life are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us.*

Next, I bear my testimony against all sects and opinions that are contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ, both Popery and Prelacy, perjury and all profanity, and all malignancy, and particularly against that protection that is called indulgence, that shelter, that so many have run in under in these chilled times, while the ark of God is in the open fields, as was said by a worthy man long ago, who was
killed

killed in the fields, fighting for the church of Christ, as we were; and there is a ground for it. I argue it lawful to rise in arms, in opposition to any that are incensed and enraged against the work of our Lord and Saviour, and his gospel. And that is in *Jer. xlviii. 10. Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully, and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.* These were all enemies against God and his way, for it was *Moab* that cursed crew, and it may be *Edom* was there too our bastard brother, as there was some of the folk, that ye and we call many times friends, but yet they were at *Bothwell-bridge*, and appeared in open war against Christ, and these who once seemed to be for him (as we thought) and these were they who are indulged, I could name them to you, but I need not, for the Lord knoweth them and us both, and we must all answer to him what was our intention. But as for me, I am in the way going to eternity, and must appear within a few days, and be judged by Christ; but that day will not be like that day of *November*, when we got our sentence; but it is like, that these who judged us then, will be as far down in that great day of our appearance, as we were under them in that day, for they did as they thought fit against us, but it shall not be so in that great day, *2 Cor. v. 10.*

Next, I bear my testimony against all those that say, we are of the sect of the Jesuits, tending to Quakerism and error, because we are willing Christ should wear his own crown, kingdom, and all his prerogative rights, and these truths we are engaged unto, and will not give them unto a man whose breath is in his nostrils. As for me a dying person, I declare my hatred before God, angels and men, that I love none of that kind that we are ranked up with, as some friends said of me, and not of me only that we agreed well with Quakerism, and had some

some of their principles; but the Lord knows, and they shall know when all of us shall stand before the tribunal of God, and there receive a just sentence, that we abhor these ways.

Next, I bear my testimony against all that say, we will not give the king his due, as we covenanted; but they are all wrong, for they would have us to give king *Charles* that which we owe to king *Christ*. I hope thro' him that withheld me hitherto from complying and subscribing that bond, that was so clear a sin to me, he will yet help me more; for he says, *Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations; therefore I appoint for you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink with me in my kingdom, Luke xxii. 28, 29, 30.* And *Rev. vii. 13, 14, 15, 16.* *What are these which are arrayed in white robes, and whence came they? And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said unto me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; and they are found without spot before the throne of God, and blameless: Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple; and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them; and they shall hunger no more.* And that innumerable company of angels, and the generation of the first-born to accompany them that shall win through to the other side.

Next, I bear my testimony against all these unlawful things that have been imposed upon the people of God, and against all those that have put them to the door, and they who have yielded to that wofulness; but what need I say any more of that: it is clear even to the light of nature; but we are all waxed gross, and are like a deceitful bow, as in *Psal. lxxviii.* which is a remarkable scripture: but now ye may see, they are the bravest men that can

deny most of the scriptures : but I leave this to the Lord of heaven and earth.

Next, I bear my testimony against these noble-men and women, gentlemen and women, ministers, and others, tho' they seem to be our friends, yet say, we are led on in such a way of superstition by a few silly women, because we durst not do as they would have us doing, and that was in taking the bond, and confessing that our being at *Bothwell-bridge* was rebellion, not only against man, but they would have me saying, that it was rebellion against God ; but the Lord is my record, I durst not do it for my soul : for I was clear in my conscience, that it was a duty lying on me to appear in arms against the generation of wicked men, that like *Ahab* have sold themselves to work wickedness in the sight of God, and so it says to me, that the Lord will do to them as he did to *Ahab*, *Jeroboam*, and *Baasha*, he made an end of them both root and branch ; but if it may please the Lord to give them repentance, from my very heart I wish them pardon both king and nobles, as I would be forgiven of God myself.

There is another word I have to say, and that is to all Christians, to fear God, and honour the king, as far as he and you agree in honouring of Christ, and no farther ; altho' he were a monarch, if he fall on, and break down the work of God, I charge all that have a mind to come to heaven, to arise and contend for the work of God, as ye will be answerable to him in the great day, who is taking notice of all these who are contending for him, his cause and truth, and do not account their life dear to lay it down for him, who was at the pains to come down from the bosom of the Father, and take on man's nature as a sinful man ; and he was trysted with all sorts of trouble and affliction as we are now, and yet without sin, and yet persecuted as for sin ; and he had fellow-feeling of all our infirmities.

Next,

Next, I have this to bear my testimony against, and that is, this great course of defection and backsliding both in ministers and professors, and also the profanity and wickedness in all other ranks and degrees so much carried on by a great many, and not only by a backward and godless generation, but by a professing party, that are crying, *Away with him, away with him, crucify him*; but there is a day coming, when many of these will cry to *hills and mountains to fall upon them, and cover them from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb, for who will be able to stand when he appears.*

Now, there is another ground of my sentence, and that is, because I thought it my duty to appear in name and behalf of the church and people of God, and in owning that handful that was born down, and made to seek to the open fields night and day, because of the fury of the oppressor, and therefore, the more I thought it was my duty, the more it was persecuted; and because I was in covenant with God, altho' I was never honoured, so as to hold up my hand, and swear to God before men, yet I am not the less engaged in that to God, but the more; and having this to say, that I came out of my own free will, no man pressing me, but only so far as my conscience did command me, in the peril of my life, to appear in open war against all profanity, and a wicked apostate generation; and to own a small persecuted and despised handful that was forced to take the open fields, by reason of a perjured party, that has so come in, and oppressed all these that would live peaceably, if they would have let them have the word of God preached in power and purity, as we had it once in a day: but now we are deprived of these great and precious privileges by our misimproving of them, and the Lord hath been pleased to remove his candlestick into corners; and not only

so, but he hath been pleased to let some fall and comply with an adulterous generation both ministers and professors, for the which we mourn this day, and do testify against them.

Next, I bear my testimony against all these proclamations and declarations, or laws any other way made and set out, contrary to the word and law of God, by a cursed crew of perjured men, who have broken covenant, and the oaths of God, and have stated themselves against Christ and his cause, which was a great ground of my appearing against the wicked parties side and faction, and made me on the other party, (altho' in hazard of my life) being lying in the open fields. Nevertheless my bond and engagement to God being lying on me, that I should defend that interest with my life and liberty, and made it clear that it was a duty, and particularly to me, according to my engagement to him. I being but a private person, you need not look for such a testimony from me as from others, yet I think it my duty to write a word or two to these that are left behind, to make it appear, that I died not as a fool, as some do imagine; but I reckon not what any man shall say of me. Now, I hope to be at an end ere long, and beyond all their censures and reproaches, and therefore I die willingly, for *I know in whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day*; and I must declare, that I have nothing of myself to boast of, but all in Christ, *thro' his grace I am that I am*. I must declare, that he may as justly cast me down into the lowest hell, as to honour me with the contrary, and that is, by giving a testimony on a scaffold, and only for him, and for him only that I now suffer. I am willing to die upon that account, having the clear call of God to hold me up, for he saith, *Isa. xliii. 2, 3. Fear not thou, O Jacob, for I will be with thee; when thou walkest thro' the fire, it shall not burn*

burn thee; when thou passest thro' the waters, they shall not drown thee; and is not that a brave ground of hope and encouragement? Therefore suffer cheerfully all my friends, I have not much to say, being of small judgment, but I have that word to say a-nent my case, Since I was a prisoner, but mainly since I was under the sentence of death, I have had much of the presence of God since that was my lot; and I may say, *My lot is fallen in pleasant places, I have a goodly heritage.* Altho' some dark clouds and vails do intervene, and mar me now and then, yet I must declare, I am not left in the dark altogether. And I have reason to bless God, that he doth not leave me all the way my alone, as he may justly do, and my soul blesteth him for owning me so much, as to strengthen me with his own strength. I have a word, *Acts xxiv. 13, 14, 15, 16.* that *they cannot prove the things which they lay to my charge:* but in so far as they did count my duty and fear of God to be rebellion against God and the king; so I desire the Lord would pardon them for so gross and grievous a sentence that they passed on us, condemning us as accessory to the death of that perjured, profane and abominable prelate *Sharp*, who was one of these in this land that did use all his power to the overthrowing of the work of God, but he is now at his portion, where the Lord will; and I shall say no more of that, but leave all to the Lord, and leaves all causes in this land of *Scotland* on him, and all our covenanted lands.

Next, I leave my testimony against those who have pressed the bond on some, advising them who were but weak in judgment, and in so doing, you have a hand in their sin, and shall as surely partake of their plagues that shall be sent on them from the hand of the Lord for so doing, as he hath broken them, for the which I am very sorry, both for them that have taken the bond, and those that enticed

them so to do: but I hope ye shall see some of them ere long new for that step of defection. I wish I may be forgiven of God for all my sins and provocations, but I hope to be forgiven only thro' his grace, death and sufferings, which is the only way by which we must inherit the crown purchased thro' the precious blood of Christ, which crown we live and die in the faith of, that we shall have a right to: But the Lord hath several ways in so doing, and we are to enjoy the crown in an extraordinary way.

I pray that the Lord may, and will be pleased to return, and come again, and make his work a rejoicing work; and that his poor people, who are precious, near and dear unto him, may not depart without a testimony, and go to the grave, and may not be silent, and may see the great hazard of being silent, I mean both ministers and professors, but may declare the mind of their Master more faithfully, and that with all boldness, as it is said in that word, *Who art thou that art afraid of man that shall die, and forgettest me the Lord thy Maker?* I have another word to say, and that is, *James v. 5, 6. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter; and have condemned the just for the unjust, and he doth not resist you. My brethren, be patient until the coming of our Lord; he will make up all your loss, trouble not yourselves; for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble, 1 Pet. v. 6, 7, 8. Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of the Lord, and he will exalt you in due time: Cast all your care upon the Lord, for he careth for you; and be sober. 1 Pet. iv. 6, 7, 8. For this cause was the gospel preached to them that are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit; but the end of all things is at hand, be ye sober therefore and watch unto prayer; and above all things have fervent charity amongst yourselves, for charity covers*

a multitude of sins. Ver. 12. to 19. Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial, as if some strange thing had happened unto you; but rejoice in as much as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when his glory shall appear, ye may be glad also with exceeding great joy. If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; for the spirit of God, and of glory resteth on you. On their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified; but let none of you suffer as a fool, or as a busy body in other mens matters, or as an evil-doer; yet if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God on this behalf; for the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God; and if it first begin at us, what will become of them that obey not the gospel of God? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinner appear? Wherefore let him that suffers according to the will of God, commit the keeping of his soul to him in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator. I desire to mind the poor case and condition of this once much honoured land of Scotland. O Scotland! that was once so much honoured with the everlasting gospel, and now is despised and disowned, not only by a malignant party, but by some lukewarm professors, who once appeared for the defence of that cause.

Again, I bear my testimony to the cross of Christ, and against all those who are thirsting after the blood of the saints, and against those that are yet putting some to death, and others to banishment. I bear my testimony against all imprisonments or blood, either shed on scaffolds, or in the fields; and against all reproaches cast on the people of God, calling them Fanaticks; and against all oppression done by the perjured Prelatick party, and against all those that join in affinity with these persecuters: ye may remember what became of *Jehoshaphat* with *Ahab*; ye will find it in 2 *Chron.* xix. 2.

Next, I bear my joint testimony with all those that have gone before me, either in that way on scaffolds, or in fields, or shall be done yet. I pray God may prevent that any more should suffer, if it be his will; and I leave my testimony against all these wolves, who have entered into the labours of the faithful servants of our Lord; and likewise against all ranks and degrees that have done, or shall do any thing contrary to the word of God. And lastly, I refer you to the general testimony agreed to, and subscribed by us all five, as our joint minds together, beside our particular testimonies. So, recommending all my dear friends and relations to the guiding and protection of the Almighty; farewell all earthly comforts, and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, into whose hands I recommend my spirit. *Amen.*

Sic subscribitur

JOHN WADDEL.

THE TESTIMONY OF

J O H N C L I D E.

Men and Brethren,

THese are to shew you the case that I am in at this time, and what the Lord hath in his infinite wisdom carved out to be my lot and condition at this present time: and I am but a very young man to have such a lot and dispensation cast in my way, at this day; and for mine age, it is but small in account, and few in number, about twenty-one years of age. And I may say justly, as *Jacob* said to *Pharaoh*, *My days are few and full of trouble*; although I have not come so far a length as *Jacob* came, nor have met with the hardships he met with, yet in my poor station, I have been trysted with sundry cross dispensations, according to my weak capacity, partly from within, and partly from without.

out. And I may justly say, that I am *the least of all saints*, and one of the unworthiest that hath gone under the name of a profession; and far less to be counted worthy to give a testimony for such a honourable cause as this is; that the Lord in his infinite wisdom and holy providence hath laid in my way at this time, that ever he should have counted me worthy to have laid down my life in such a way as this. And now, my dear friends, I am to let you know upon what account I am to lay down my life, and what moved me to cast myself into this hazard. It was the precious word of God that gave me a call to it, as ye will find *Judges v. 23. Curse ye Me-roz with a double curse, because they came not out to help the Lord against the mighty.* My dear friends, I confess, ye may object and say, That if the Lord had seen it fit, he could have made the stones to have risen up to have fought his battle; I confess that he could have done it: Yet, however, the Lord allows his people to do it to the uttermost of their power, for the owning and maintaining of his work and interest. We are bound in the sixth article of the Solemn League and Covenant, *That we shall, according to our places and calling, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdom, assist and defend all these that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and preserving thereof, even to our lives and liberties losing.* And I might prove it further from scripture, if need were. But I think, if there were but one page in all the holy scripture, it might be a sufficient call and ground for us to defend the work of reformation, even to the loss of our lives and liberties. As ye will find it, *Jer. xlviii. 10. Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully, and cursed be he that keepeth his sword back from blood.* I might insist and prove my rising in arms by these scriptures, but I shall not insist any longer upon it, because I
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had need to be taken up about other exercise than this. But yet I thought it my duty, to let you see upon what grounds I lay down my life this day, to put you beyond debate; for I thought it my duty, and do yet count it my duty, and am so far from repining, desponding or grudging, that I count it my honour and glory, that ever I should have been counted worthy to give my weak and feeble testimony against a sinful and apostatizing generation, that hath trampled under foot the covenant and work of reformation, and counted the blood of the Son of God an unholy thing. This I may say, without breach of charity, and without reflection upon any body, for it is visibly seen by the generality of all the people that do countenance the malignant party. But I must confess, there is some better than others: but by the whole plurality there is nothing countenanced, nor carried on but Popery and Prelacy, and Quakerism, and all manner of abomination: and there is nothing holden under-board, but the glorious work of reformation, which I am lay down my life this day for, as a witnessing against Popery and Prelacy, Quakerism, and all manner of abominations abounding in this poor covenanted land. And I think, any that are but half-witted, or have a sponk of mother-wit (as we use to say) may see that the Lord hath a controversy with these lands, because *the righteous perish, and no man layeth it to heart, and merciful men are taken away, and no man regardeth it*, Isa. lvii. 1. And I wot well, this is clearly seen and made out in our days that this is true; for the faithful ministers, and other Christians, are taken away, what by death, what by banishment, what by execution; and hunted up and down, that they have not so much as a house to stay or make their abode in. And for my part, I shall say but very little to it; but I think, our king and counsellors should think shame

to do so; but truly I may say, That shame is past the shade of their hair (as we use to say in an old proverb) And as the word says, *They have a whores forehead, they cease to be ashamed*; for any body may see it so, or else they would never do as they do; for if they were not void of the grace of God, they would be afraid to do as they do. I shall say nothing to this purpose, but what I shall make good from his word: When *David* lamented for the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his son, though *David* was accounted to be king over the people of *Israel*, yet because *Saul* and *Jonathan* were killed by their enemies, yet *David* says, *Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in the streets of Askelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph*, 2 Sam. i. 20. For truly I think, to my poor and weak skill, our rulers should think shame to be using their poor subjects so for nothing, but for following the work of God, as they are bound upon conscience to do, to be executing some, and banishing others, as they are doing. But for my own part I shall say no more, but wishes, that the Lord would not lay it to their charge, for I desire to forgive them, if it may stand with the Lord's holy will; and if not, I desire to turn it over on the Lord, let him do as he sees fit. Only this I may say, that it is for no evil that I have done, that I am made a gazing-stock to all these beholders this day; and I bless his name for it, I die not as a fool, I have his own word for it, that if *I suffer for him, I shall also reign with him*; and I wot, that the Lord Jesus owns the cause as his, and he calls it his temptations. Therefore, although it be somewhat terrifying to the eyes of the beholders, and to flesh and blood, yet it will yield the peaceable fruits of righteousness to all those that are exercised thereby. And although I am to be executed here, and my body, after I am executed

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ed, is to be hung up until it consume all away; yet I die in the faith of this, that altho' it should hing till it consume all away, and be scattered up and down the earth, till there be not so much as an hair-breadth together; tho' the fowls of the air should come and take away part of it, and the beasts of the field should come and consume the other part of it; and tho', if it were possible, that fishes come and take another part of it, yet I desire to die in the faith of this, that it will be all gathered together again, and an hair-breadth of it will not be lost, when King Christ comes with the sound of the Arch-angel, and the sound of the last trumpet, and then *the dead in Christ shall be first raised*, and then *we must all stand before his tribunal, and give an account of the deeds of the body, whether they have been good or evil*: according as we have done here, so it will be done unto us, where there will be no respect of persons, where the beggar that sits upon the dunghil will be as much thought of that day, as the king that sits upon the throne: Yea, and *Tophet is prepared of old, for the king as well as for the beggar*. Now, my beloved, I shall let you see the confidence I have of this truth. 1. Ye will find it, *Job xix. 26. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God. Ver. 27. Whom I shall see for my self, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another, though my reins be consumed within me*. And likewise, ye will find it written in *Isa. xxx. 33. For Tophet is prepared of old: yea, for the king it is prepared, he hath made it deep and large, the pile thereof, &c.* Now, my dear friends, I hope you will find nothing here but what is written in the scriptures, for this is of a certain truth, that it will be so both for kings, nobles, and ignobles, if they do not repent and turn from the evil of their deeds, and turn unto the Lord. But alas! there is no appearance of turning

ing from their evil deeds. The Lord has been shoaring (as it were) this land with sore strokes, yet we may say, as the prophet says, *Isa. i. 5.* to that wicked people, *Why should ye be stricken any more?* for the more they are stricken, the more they revolt: but stay still yet, there is a day coming when they shall be made to hear, whether they will or not; *Mic. vi. 9.* there is a voice of the Lord calling to the city, compared to a rod: But alas! it is very sad to think upon it, that there is so few that are taking warning from the word of the Lord, as there is. However, they will be made to hear, and take with the warning, little for their profit, *when the Lord shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels, taking vengeance upon all them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.* And now I shall say no more to this purpose.

But I am to leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, and Quakerism, and Erastianism, and all abominations that are abounding in this land. And likewise, I let all the world know, wheresoever this line of mine comes to be known, that I die in the faith of this, that the Lord shall have a church in this land, whether the devil or men will or not: we have his word for it; there shall be a generation that shall be counted to the Lord for a people that shall serve him, whether king or council will or not, let them do their best, and the bishops and all their underlings, and all their attendants: if hell and death and wicked men, and all were set in open opposition against it, I say, our king Christ will be head of his church, say against it who will: and he shall reign in Zion till all his enemies be under his feet. Now I shall say no more, but only two or three words anent the thing I was accused of, by those that pursued me, and that was the king's advocate and bishop *Sharp's* brother, anent the bishop's killing.

killing. And whether I had spoken of it or not; there is no body, but they may know, that it was the only thing that made them so forely to insist against me, I wish the Lord may not lay it to their charge: for I never saw that man whom they called the bishop of *St. Andrews*, that I knew by another man; and the other ground of my sentence was the killing of a butcher, who confessed that he both committed adultery, and buggery, and murdered a man of late at *Glasgow*, when as himself did the most horrible acts that ever man did, and yet they called the killing of him murder; the third ground of my sentence was, that I was at the late rebellion that was at *Bothwell-bridge*, as they call it, the which I never held as rebellion, nor counted any thing that was done that way rebellion. I bless the Lord that ever he counted me worthy to bear witness to such things as these were. The fourth ground of my sentence was the hearing of rebellious ministers, that are holden out, as rendezouzes of rebellion, both in field and houses. My soul blesteth the Lord that ever I was witness to such meetings, either in the fields or in houses, as these were. For I bear witness and give my testimony to such meetings as these were. For I may say, that if ever the Lord had a poor church in *Scotland*, that he has some who have been so wonderfully owned and carried on by the Lord's powerful and mighty hand, not only to the convictions of some, but to the conversion of others. And I leave my testimony to this persecuted and born down work of our Lord Jesus Christ, and leaves my testimony against all the opposers thereof, that they are enemies to the cross of Christ. And now I shall say no more concerning these things, but first declares my testimony against all these fore-mentioned things, and against all bonds that are not consistent with the word of God, and are not agreeable to the Solemn League and Cove-

Covenant, and against all declarations and cesses that are for the army, to bring down the work of reformation, as it was once owned and advanced in this Island of *Britain* and *Ireland*, and especially in *Scotland*; which was once the best reformed church that was in the whole earth. And I leave my testimony to the Larger and Shorter Catechisms and Confession of Faith. 2. And likewise I declare, that I lay not my life unwillingly down this day, but freely without any restraint or constraint. Next I declare, that I am free of all the crimes that they lay to me, for I was ever obedient to the king and his lawful authority, and do commend every one in their places and stations thereto, so far as his laws consist with the word of God. 3. I declare, that it was for the defence of the gospel that I arose, and that of free will, not allured, nor enticed by any body or person in the world. 4. I declare, that I durst not take the bond that was laid to me, and gone over the belly of my conscience, and sinned against God, and durst not take liberty to my body with prejudice to my soul, for that word was born in upon me, that *those that save their lives, shall lose their lives*. 5. I bless the Lord, since I got my sentence I have been wonderfully carried thro', not having so much as an hard thought of any thing that I have done. Yea the Lord hath wonderfully upholden me since I got my sentence. 6. I shall say no more to this, but desires my blessing to all my friends in Christ; and now, I must bid farewell to all earthly pleasures and enjoyments, all kinsfolk and relations, and farewell to my loving mother, and all other friends, and welcome Christ, heaven and eternity, and farewell sorrow and sighing, and farewell losses and crosses, punishments and banishments, farewell all earthly sorrows, and welcome Father, Son and Holy Spirit for evermore; *Even so come Lord Jesus, come quickly*, and receive my spirit. Amen.

The TESTIMONY of the five men, who suffered death at *Magus Moor* upon the 25th day of November 1679.

Men and Brethren,

WE are come here this day in your presence to lay down this life of ours, being in our own defence, and defence of the gospel, as ye know we are bound in the covenants, to defend our religion, lives, liberties, and all in our stations. My dear friends, mind your vows and engagements, that ye are lying under, and the church of *Scotland* is lying under this day. Now we come to give you an account of the reasons, why we are come here to this place of execution this day. The thing was, our refusing of a bond, which we could not take, no not for our lives, which were offered us, upon conditions of subscribing it. The first thing that was in it, was that we should acknowledge our being at *Bothwel-bridge* to be *rebellion*, which we profess to be our duty. 2. We were commanded never to lift arms against the king and his authority, in which authority these acts establishing Prelacy and the Supremacy are included. So we are commanded to maintain and defend them, never to rise against them, which we know to be contrary to sound doctrine. So according to our Covenant we give our witness and testimony against them, and as for rebellion, we never intended any such thing against the king or his lawful authority, which we are all sworn to defend, with our lives and all that we have in our station. But our appearing at *Bothwel-bridge* we count it no rebellion, but our bound duty, and no sin, for it was grievous to our hearts to see the work of God born down, and trode under foot by a generation that have discovered themselves to be stated enemies to the

the cross of Christ, by shutting up his faithful servants of the ministry, some in the rocks of the sea-part also banished, others expelled to corners, private persons being put to flee to mountains, rocks, dens and caves of the earth; so we thought ourselves obliged in our station to appear there with others, for the defence of the gospel, according as we are all sworn in the National and Solemn League and Covenants, and Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, and to defend the work of reformation against Popery, Prelacy, Quakerism, and all manner of unsound doctrines and wicked practices abounding in these times. So also, my friends, when we considered the bonds of these covenants that we are all lying under, we durst not subscribe any other bonds contrary unto them. Wherefore, we desire all the Lord's people, in so far as it may consist with the word of God, and the engagements of these covenants that are lying upon them. As for our part, when we considered the obligations of them, we thought it was not a time for us to ly at ease in Zion, lest we should bring the curse of *Meroz* upon ourselves, if *we went not out to help the Lord against the mighty*; for ye know it is said in the word, *Shall he break the covenant, and be delivered?* So we give our witness and testimony to the cross of Christ, and blessed be the Lord that ever we appeared at *Bothwel-bridge* for the defence of his persecuted cause, which within a little we shall seal with our blood.

We desire you all not to cast a reproach on that late appearing at *Bothwel-bridge*, lest ye state God an enemy against you; for we bless him that ever he fell upon such a method with the like of us, as to make us appear for so honourable a cause as that.

We give our joint witness and testimony against Popery, Prelacy, and all other corruptions abound-

ing in these loose times, particularly against bishops, curates and malignants, and all who connive with them in that black course they are in for the present, and strengthen the hands of the adversary, in carrying on a course of defection. And we give our testimony against indifferent and lukewarm professors, who follow Christ as the times make for them. We give our testimony against all profligate and wicked livers, who know not God, nor will acknowledge him to be head of his church, *whose judgment lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.* We give our testimony against that calumny cast upon Presbyterians, that they are not loyal to their king, which aspersions as false we abhor; so we desire you all to obey your king in all his lawful commands, according as ye are bound in the word of God, and your covenants: but when God's laws and the king's laws are contrary one to another, do not stretch your consciences for the saving of your life; for he that *seeks to save his life, shall lose it, saith Christ; but he who loseth his life, for my sake, shall find it.*

Likewise, we give our testimony against the taking of unlawful bonds or declarations for the saving of the life, for which cause we come here to lay down our lives, even for refusing to take such bonds; we bless the Lord who hath kept us free from these things, and we hope to praise him to all eternity; for since he called us to the hardest task, which is not hard at all thro' his help, but very refreshful; for he has fully made out unto us, *that he sends none a warfare upon their own charges*; and also that promise in Isa. xli. 10. *Fear thou not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God; I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee, yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.* So, my friends, *Cast not away your confidence, which hath a great recompence of reward; for ye have need*

of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promise: No more, but commits you to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up unto the day of redemption. Ye will get our mind more fully in another paper elsewhere. Farewel time, and all earthly enjoyments; welcome blessed Christ; into thine hands we commit our spirits.

Sic subscribitur,

THO. BROWN, AND. SWORD, JAMES WOOD,
JOHN CLIDE, JOHN WADDEL.

A short Sum of what was delivered upon the place of execution, by these five men who suffered at Magus Moor in Fife, being sentenced to die in that place, upon the account of the bishop of St. Andrew's death.

THOMAS BROWN being the first that was executed, after he was settled upon the ladder, he said, That providence having ordered his coming there, to die in that place upon the account of the bishop's death: he declared unto the world before these witnesses, That some of you may judge our dying and hinging here is upon the account of the bishop's death; and that I was accessory thereunto: But I must tell you as to that, that I was never in this country before this time; but the ground of my sentence is, because I will not call my being with that party that was in arms at *Bothwell-bridge*, rebellion: and because I will not take that bond so vigorously pressed by adversaries, and persuaded unto by friends; therefore I am here to offer my life a sacrifice to God. And for my part, in rising in arms I intended no rebellion, but was there with that party in defence of the gospel, which I judged my duty, and I hope you yourselves cannot deny it. As for these favours offered to, and received by many preaching the gospel, entering

thro' the indulgence first and last, I look upon them as the ruin of the church of *Scotland*. And speaking of the work of reformation, he cited that scripture, *Lev. xxvi. 25. That the Lord would arise, and avenge the quarrel of his broken covenant*; and that in *Ezek. xvii. 15. Shall he break the covenant, and be delivered?* And tho' that poor handful had no success, yet it hath been the lot of the people of God in former times, that *the children of Ephraim turned their backs, tho' they lacked neither bow nor sword*. After he had prayed, he blessed the Lord, that if this day every hair of his head were a man, and every drop of his blood were a life, he would cordially and heartily lay them down for Christ and this cause for which he is now sentenced.

ANDREW SWORD sang the xxxiv. *Psalms*, and thereafter said, The bishop of *St. Andrew's* death I am free of, having lived four or five score of miles from this, and never was in this place before: neither did I ever see a bishop in the face that I knew to be a bishop. My coming here is for refusing to take the bond at *Edinburgh*: I bless the Lord for keeping me from that snare: I bless the Lord for keeping me since I came to prison, both at *Edinburgh* and *St. Andrews*. I exhort you all to seek the Lord, and not to fear suffering, but to credit the Lord for through-bearing. I bear testimony against the wicked abominations of these times, named by him that is gone before me: and I cannot but commend Christ and his cross to you. I would not exchange my lot for a thousand worlds. Farewel all created comforts. Then he prayed before he died.

JAMES WOOD being upon the ladder, said, As for our coming here upon the account of the bishop's death, for my own part, I was never in this place of the country before; neither ever saw I a bishop in my life, that I could say there was the

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man. I am here this day to lay down my life that God hath given me, because I could not call my appearance in arms with these at *Bothwel-bridge*, rebellion; and because I would not take the bond. As for my own part, I am so far from calling or thinking it rebellion, that I bless God I was a man to be there with that party, tho' a man most unable for war, and unskilful, because of my infirm arm. And all the arms I had was a halbert upon my shoulder; and it was not for any thing I dought or could do with it; but I behoved to be there, to shew my good will to the work of God, and the respect I had to the interest of our Lord. For I got a command or charge from God, as though he had been a most strict Master, to go and join with that party, and venture my life, which I did most chearfully: and I bless God that gave me a life to lay down for his cause; and tho' in remarkable providence he took not my life in that day, yet for holy and good ends, he spared it to lay it down this day. And now, my friends, I am so far from rewing any thing, that I had done that day, in my appearing for Christ and his cause, that I would heartily wish, if I were to live to see as many men every year for the defence of the gospel gathered together, and I would count it my honour to be with them. It was my desire to the Lord, that he would let me die a martyr, and I fought it of him; and blessed be his name he hath answered me according to that scripture, *Delight thyself in the Lord, and he shall give thee the desire of thy heart*; and now he hath granted me the desire of my heart on earth, and I shall have the desire of my heart throughout all eternity; and what would any of you have more, Sirs? And now, my friends, I am not a whit afraid to go up this ladder, and to lay down my life this day; for it is the best day that ever yet mine eyes saw; and I am as sure of my inter-

rest, as the word of God, and the Lord's Spirit by his word can make me (whereat he smiled.) Afterwards he said, I bless the Lord again for honouring me so highly, as to lay down my life for this cause. And turning himself about to some friends, he said, If I had another life to lay down to-morrow, it were some thing, but he will accept of this as the widow's mite, for I have no more. And being up almost to the top of the ladder, plucking up the napkin, he said, Now I am going to lay down this life, and to step out of time into eternity, and if I had as many lives as there are hairs on mine head, and drops of blood in my body, I would willingly lay them down for Christ, and for you all that are here upon Christ's account. It is like, you may think this a frothy word, but it is the word of a dying man. And turning to his friends, he said, Seek him, for he is well worth the seeking; credit him, Sirs, give him meikle credit, for he is well worth the crediting, and blame yourselves if you want; for he wants but employment, and he likes well to be employed; and make the bargain sure. Take hills and mountains, or wood, or trees, or any thing that's near to you, to witness; and see if once ye can get a hair in his neck, for he will be as good as his promise; get once his promise, and I warrant you.

JOHN WADDEL, being on the ladder, said, As for my accession to the bishop's death, wherefore we are sentenced to die in this place, I declare I was never over the water of *Forth*, in this country, before this time. I have only two words to say to you my friends, for I shall not trouble you with much speaking: because I am not expert in it, but only to let you know, that I am not come here to die as a fool, for I am sentenced to die here, because I would not call it rebellion my being with my friends at *Bothwell-bridge*, and because I would not take

that

that bond, binding me hereafter, never to lift arms against the king nor his authority; which thing in conscience I could not do: for whatever others think of it, to me it says, that it is a denying of all appearances for Christ and his cause, that hath formerly been: And likewise it says to me, that we shall never any more lift arms for the defence of Christ's gospel against no party whatsoever that seems to oppose it, which is far from the word of God, *If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him*, and the Covenants, National and Solemn League, which was publickly burnt in our nation (for which God in his own time will yet arise) which we are bound to maintain. And turning to his friends, he said, 1. I am here this day to lay down my life, in opposition to, and to be a witness against all these wrongs done to our Lord and his interests, and to testify against Popery, Prelacy, and malignancy, and Indulgence first and last, and against all things contrary to sound doctrine whatsoever. And I bear my testimony unto, and own our Covenants National and Solemn League, adhering to our Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms. 2. I have this day to say, that because we and the rest of the people of God, that desire to own him, and adhere to his ways, are branded with Quakerism and Jesuitism, I therefore leave my testimony against all these errors; and more particularly I do, because they are the only party now in *Scotland* that cleave to him and his ways, that are branded with it. And so as a dying man this day, (smiling) enters my testimony against all these that are contrary to the word of God and sound doctrine; and declares before him whom I must shortly appear before, and before you all, we own no such thing. Next he said, I here protest against that abominable cess for the down-bearing of the work

of God, and for the managing and strengthening the hands of evil-doers, I shall be a standing witness against all that hath payed, or shall persist or go on in paying of it hereafter, unless they repent. Yea, I shall be a hinging witness against them; and altho' my body will rot, yet the witness shall stand sure. And going to prayer, he said, Now, Sirs, I am not a white discouraged to see my three brethren hinging before mine eyes, nor before all this multitude to pray. And then he prayed.

JOHN CLIDE, After he had gone to the ladder, said, I think our being fetched here is like that which we have in Scripture, about *Herodias'* suit to *Herod* anent *John* the Baptist his head, to gratify the unsatiableness of that lewd woman: nothing would satisfy the lust of our persecuters but our blood, and in this manner and place, to gratify the bishop's friends. But the ground of my being sentenced is, because I was found in arms with that poor handful at *Bothwel-bridge*, and would not call it rebellion, and because I would not take that bond, which thing I had in my offer, and my life upon the taking of it, and was threatened by some to take it, and allured and persuaded by others, which I could not in conscience do; because it binds me hereafter that I should not appear for Christ and his cause. And I durst not do it, sirs, for I was not sure of my life no not one moment; and likewise I durst not procure the wrath of God at such a rate; for I judge the loss of my soul to be more hazardful, than the lose of the life of my body, and likewise more hazard in the offending of God, than in gaining the greatest advantage in the world. I could not stay at home, but judged it my duty to come forth, for I could not see how I could evite that curse, *Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly, these that would not come out to the help of the*
Lord

Lord against the Mighty. And I bleſs the Lord for keeping me ſtraight, I deſire to ſpeak it to the commendation of free grace, and this I am ſpeaking from my own experience, that there are none who will liſpen to God and depend upon him for direction, but they ſhall be kept ſtraight and right; but to be promiſed to be kept from tribulation, that is not the bargain, for he hath ſaid, that through much tribulation we muſt enter the kingdom; for he deals not with us as Satan does, for Satan lets us ſee the bonieſt ſide of the temptation, but our Lord Jeſus lets us ſee the rougheſt ſide and the blackeſt, after that the ſweeteſt thing comes; and he tells us the worſt thing that will happen to us. For he hath not promiſed to keep us from trouble, but he hath promiſed to be with us in it, and what needs more. I bleſs the Lord for keeping of me to this very hour; for little would I have thought a twelve-month ſince, that the Lord would have taken a poor ploughman lad, and have honoured me ſo highly, as to have made me firſt appear for him, and then keep me ſtraight, and now hath kept me to this very hour to lay down my life for him. At the ladder foot he ſaid to his brother, Weep not for me, brother, but weep for yourſelf, and the poor land, and ſeek God and make him ſure for yourſelf, and he ſhall be better to you than ten brethren. Now farewel all friends and relations, farewel brother, ſiſter and mother; and welcome Lord Jeſus, into thy hands I commit my ſpirit: And liſting up the napkin off his face he ſaid, Dear friends, be not diſcouraged becauſe of the croſs, nor at this ye have ſeen this day, for I hope you have ſeen no diſcouragement in me, and you ſhall ſee no more.

F I N I S.

*Monumental Inscription on a Grave Stone
at Rullion Green, Pentland-hills.*

Here
and near to
this Place lies the
Rev'rend Mr. John Crookshanks,
and Mr. Andrew M'Cormock,
Ministers of the Gospel, and
about Fifty other true cove-
nanted Presbyterians, who were
killed in this Place in their own
innocent Self-defence, and De-
fence of the covenanted
Work of Reformation, by
Thomas Dalziel of Binns,
upon the 28th of November
1666. Rev. xii. 11. erected
September 28. 1738.

*On the opposite Side of the same Stone is
the following Inscription.*

A Cloud of Witnesses lies here,
Who for CHRIST's Interest did appear,
For to restore true Liberty,
Overturned then by Tyranny;
And by proud Prelates, who did rage
Against the LORD's own Heritage;
They sacrificed were for the Laws
Of CHRIST their King, his noble Cause
These Hero's fought with great Renown,
By falling got the Martyrs Crown.

CHRISTIAN READER,

THAT thou mayest have some small account of the life and death of one martyr more, for keeping up the fragrancy of his memory, and transmitting it to posterity; or rather, that thou mayest know, how that example of piety, parts, and valour still lives and will live in the affection of all, who know to put a value on things and persons excellent; take these few following heroics, sobbed forth over the fall of that truly great hero.

Upon the lamentable, yet gallant and glorious Death of that singularly pious, that eminently faithful Servant, and truly loyal subject of the King of Saints, fervently zealous for the interest of his Master's glory, and otherwise universally well-accomplished gentleman, THOMAS KER of Hayhope, who was cruelly murdered in a rencounter with a party, commanded by Col. Struthers, near Crockome, a Village upon the English Border, Anno 1678.

COME all you heroes, come each virtuous spirit,
 Each generous soul approach; come let us meet,
 Come let us meet with tears: thus fate allows.
 You lofty heav'ns, contract your cloudy brows;
 Turn vapours into tears; that we with you
 May mourn, and mourn again; since it is true,
 That he is torn from us by rapid fate,
 By so perfidious hands, at such a rate;
 Whom, if we will consider, we will find
 That he his equals hath left few behind.
 But ah! I think, could I surmount as far
 Parnassus mountain, as the highest star
 The Stygian lake; could I devotion lay
 As open to mens view, as light of day,

Could

Could I describe true valour, true discretion:
 Could I on kindness put due estimation:
 Then should I rack my fancy, stretch my quill,
 That my engine might correspond my will.
 Ye who with airy *quiddities* vex your wit,
 Lay by your trivials; here's a theme more fit:
 Of this brave hero let this doubt be tost;
 When deadly wounded, when his blood was lost,
 How he, ev'n then most valourously behav'd,
 Shedding that blood which him of life bereav'd.
 Ye who about the *Helicon* resort,
 Leave off your canting in romantic sort:
 Here is a subject; here concern'd are ye;
 Pen-elegiacs; here's a tragedy:
 Here lies a hero inhumanely torn;
 Here lies the Muses friend, who did adorn
 His poems with a soaring stile; here lies
 Kindness abolish'd; here the widow cries:
 Here howls his kinsfolk; here his friends hang down
 Their drumbled eyes: the church doth faint and swoon,
 For lack of him, who spent his time, his strength,
 Into her quarrel, clos'd his day at length.
 Ye who write annals, and all ye that treats
 Of high exploits, and memorable fates,
 Pray do not miss, record this signal strife;
 Its memorable; pen his death and life,
 That our successors may in mourning do
 What our marmorean hearts can not win to.
 When hollow silver, or pure brass doth raise
 The noise of war, and soundeth heroes praise,
 Be not ungrate; amongst the first allow
 To him a triple quiver; for 'tis due.
 Ye who delight to entertain the views
 Of grovelling mortals, by your specious hews,
 Prepare your pencils; set some time apart;
 With twice thrice lively colours help your art;
 Draw ye this noble hero on his knees,
 Sending the latest rays of his fair eyes
 Towards these regions, where pure spirits sing
 Thrice blessed hallelujahs to their King;

Spending his newest breath, in forming sounds,
 Not to lament the pangs of death, or wounds;
 But posts them forward, while his soul did stay,
 Taking her last farewell of what was clay:
 Pray, draw in vive characters (do not miss)
 These streams of blood, which from that breast of his
 Came trickling down; that these who chance to see
 This tragic sight, may weep his elegy.

O heav'ns! O earth! O floods! O roaring seas!
 Ye lofty mountains, groves, and stately trees;
 Ye rampant lions, and ye savage bears;
 Ye cruel tygers; all burst forth in tears,
 Irradiant sun, fair moon, obscure your face;
 Ye minor splendors, hold your rays a space;
 Ye soaring eagles, that do mount on high,
 Conven your subjects; raise a doleful cry;
 So that the clouds alarmed by your voice,
 May send you tears, to equalize your noise.
 But ah! why crave we aid? since lifeless things
 Begs our assistance: num'rous tears down springs,
 From heav'ns o'erclouded brows, on mounts and trees,
 Which shortly posts them to the floods and seas;
 Which altogether mourning, roaring make,
 And makes their banks to sympathize and shake.
 The clouds colliding raises hideous sounds,
 Which from the rocks, in mournful ways rebounds.
 The stars seem to disdain, to grant a smile,
 To dead dull mankind; till they mourn a while,
 The sun hides his fair face: the moon's obscur'd:
 The earth's astonish'd: only we're obdur'd.
 Let others pen his praises, who do fear
 In thoughts sublime; I halt, and say no more;
 But only thus abruptly will conclude:
 O height of kindness, nature mild, and good!
 O true religion's son! O nation's lover!
 O soul, sublimer than these heav'ns could cover!
 O noble Ker! O pattern of renown!
 We groan on earth, thou wears a heavenly crown.

F I N I S.

B  L

A LIST of SUBSCRIBERS Names.

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JOHN Hadden, 60 copies

George More merchant, 12 copies

James Paterfson taylor, 12 copies

Peter Willamson bookseller, 12 copies

Henry Allan merchant

Thomas Aitkenhead horse-hirer

James Braidwood candlemaker

William Braidwood wright at Hopepark

Charles Brown surgeon

John Brown weaver Kirkbrahead

Allan Buchanan lace-weaver

Robert Burns

John Christie wright

Andrew Clerk taylor

James Cleland weaver Moulterfichill

James Cowen gardener

John Craig merchant

John Crocket taylor

George Cromar gardener there

Christopher Fairnie wright

Robert Fell printer

Alexander Forbes merchant

James Fut wright

James Gentile shoemaker

Alexander Gillies staymaker

George Gourlie shepherd at Turnhouse

Charles Halden printer

John Hastie gardener

Matthew Hunter staymaker

Thomas Jack lint-dresser

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——Keltie gardener

John Lawson wright

Robert Logan book-binder

John M'Farline in Long Nidry

William Marshall taylor

James Marshall shoemaker Calton

Adam

Subscribers Names

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James M'Cleish merchant
James M'Cleish book-binder
John M'Kewn taylor
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Robert Miln flax-dresser
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George Murray taylor
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Hugh Nisbet taylor
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James Steel merchant
David Stuart shoemaker
William Taylor printer
John Tennent junr. printer
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Subscribers Names.

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James Gibb inn-keeper	William Buchanan
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Richard Logan gardener	Robert Donaldson
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James M'Gill hammerman	James Falconer
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John Orr land-labourer	James M'Gomery
Mary Provan	William M'Kean
John Rae sawer	James M'Kean
Robert Scot weaver	John M'Kewn
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David Miller at Calder- bridge, 12 copies	Robert Paterfon
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	All Weavers there

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Adam Snail ditto	Margaret Brown
James Scot ditto	Thomas Freebairn
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Greenock	Andrew Lockart carter
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 William Anderfon
 Alex. Archer stay-maker
 Jam. Atchison
 John Bain
 John Bisset
 Patrick Bisset
 Mr. Wm. Cowan staymaker
 Henry Coxton taylor
 Wm. Croft flax-dresser
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 Mark Hay shoe-maker
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 John Johnston
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 Thomas Lumley merchant
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 William Stuart wig-maker
 Mrs. Taife
 John Waddel

LESMAHEGOW Parish.
 Jo. Dick farmer in Westoun
 James Forrest in Colburn
 Thomas Greenshields tenant
 in Colburn
 William Hamilton herd in
 Westoun
 William Mure farmer there
 Helen Sadler there
 John Wallace farmer there
 Daniel Waddel servant there
 And. Wilson armer there

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ABERNETHY.
 Mr. Alexander Pirie student
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DUN-

Subscribers Names.

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Arthur Black in Craigie

William Dutch in Windy-brae

William Elder brewer in Brackmont-mill

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Subscribers Name..

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John Kid ditto.

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John Duff wright in Eden's Head in the parish of
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John Duncan in Causeyhead, in the parish of *Forgan*

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John Henderson tenant in Craiglaschar in the parish of
Dumfermline

Thomas Hog travelling chapman at Wood of *Portmoak*

Andrew Miller travelling chapman in the parish of *Ceres*

David Tod farmer in Collithy in the parish of *Monzie*

F I N I S.

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